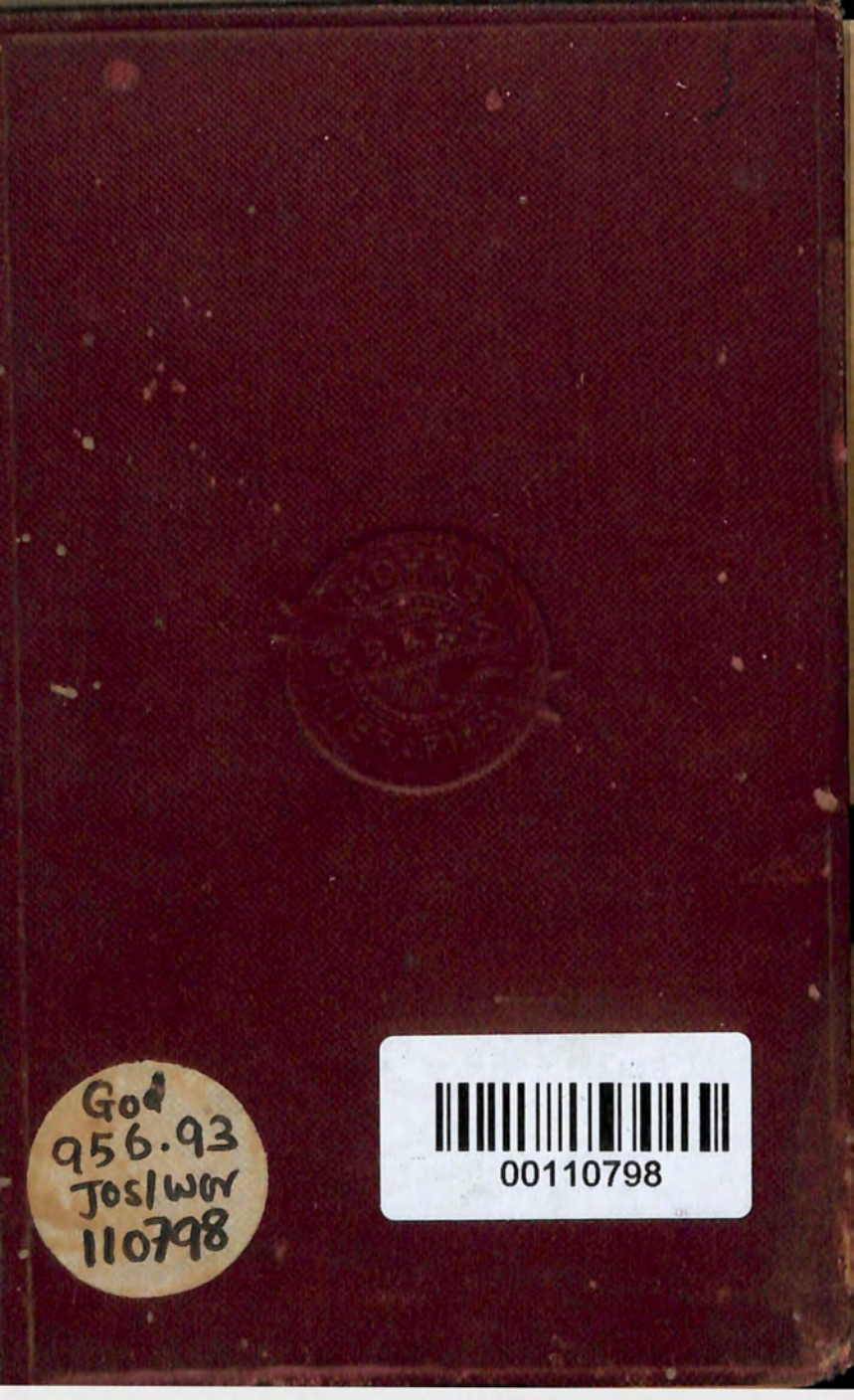
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THE WORKS OF

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WHISTON'S TRANSLATION,

110798

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BOOK V.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF NEARLY SIX MONTHS.—FROM THE COMING OF TITUS TO BESIEGE JERUSALEM, TO THE GREAT EXTREMITY TO WHICH THE JEWS WERE REDUCED.

CHAP. I.

Concerning the Factions at Jerusalem; and the terrible Miseries that afflicted the City owing to them.

§ 1.

WHEN Titus had marched over the desert which lies between Egypt and Syria in the forementioned manner, he arrived at Cæsarea, having resolved to concentrate his forces there, before he began the war. Now while he was assisting his father at Alexandria to get firmly settled in the empire which had been newly conferred upon him by God, it so happened that the civil strife at Jerusalem revived, and formed three factions, and each faction fought against the others, which in such evil cases may be said to be a good thing and the result of justice. Now the attack the Zealots made upon the people, which was the cause of the city's destruction, has been set forth already

in an accurate manner, as also whence it arose, and what a height of mischief it grew to. But for the present sedition, one would not be wrong if one called it a sedition begotten by another sedition, and like a wild beast grown mad, which, for want of food from without, fell at last to eating its own flesh.

§ 2. For Eleazar, the son of Simon, who first separated the Zealots from the people, and made them retire into the temple, appeared very angry at John's daily outrages upon the people (for he never left off murdering), but the truth was that he could not bear to submit to a tyrant who was later in point of time than himself. So being desirous of gaining the entire power and dominion for himself, he severed his connection with John, and formed a party consisting of Judas the son of Chelcias, and Simon the son of Ezron, who were influential persons, and Ezekias the son of Chobari, a person of eminence. Each of these were accompanied by a great many of the Zealots, and they seized upon the inner court of the temple, and placed their arms over the holy gates and upon the sacred fronts. And as they had plenty of provisions they were of good courage (for there was a great abundance of what was consecrated to sacred uses for such as scrupled not to make use of them), but they were afraid on account of their small numbers, and when they had laid up their arms there, they did not stir from the spot. As to John, whatever advantage he had over Eleazar in the number of his followers, he had as much disadvantage in the situation he was in; for as he had his enemies over his head, he could not make any assault upon them without loss, yet his anger was too great to let him be at rest. And although he suffered more mischief from Eleazar and his party than he could inflict upon them, yet he would not leave off assaulting them, so that there were continual sallies and hurling of missiles against one another, and the temple was defiled everywhere with slaughter.

§ 3. And now Simon, the son of Gioras, whom the people had invited in, hoping for his assistance in the great distresses they were in, but finding a tyrant, having in his power the upper city and a great part of the lower, made more effective assaults upon John and his party,

because they too were fought against from above. For he was beneath them when he attacked them, as they were beneath those above them. And John, being fought against on both sides, did easily both receive and inflict great damage, and the same advantage that Eleazar and his party had over him, since he was beneath them, had he by his higher situation over Simon, so that he easily repelled the attacks that were made from below by weapons thrown by the hand only; but was obliged to repel those that threw their darts from the temple above him by his engines of war: for he had many engines which threw darts and javelins and stones, and that in no small number, by which he not only kept off such as fought against him, but slew moreover many of the priests who were engaged in their sacred ministrations. For although these men were mad with all sorts of impiety, yet did they still admit those that desired to offer their sacrifices, although they took care to search the people of their own country, and both suspected and watched them, while they were not so much afraid of strangers, who, although at their entrance they pleaded earnestly against their cruelty, were yet often destroyed incidentally by the sedition. For those darts that were thrown by the engines flew over with such force that they reached as far as the altar and sanctuary itself, and fell upon the priests and those that were engaged in the sacred offices, insomuch, that many persons who came there with great zeal from the ends of the earth, to offer sacrifices at this famous place which was esteemed holy by all mankind, fell down themselves before their own sacrifices, and sprinkled the altar which was venerated by all men, both Greeks and Barbarians, with their own blood. And the dead bodies of strangers were mixed with those of their own countrymen, and the corpses of profane persons with those of the priests, and the blood of all sorts of dead carcases made quite a lake in the holy precincts. Most wretched city, what misery equal to this didst thou suffer from the Romans, when they came to purify thee from thy civil strife? For thou couldst no longer be a place fit for God, nor couldst thou longer continue in being, after thou hadst been a sepulchre for the bodies of thy own people, and hadst made the sanctuary itself a burying-place in this

civil war of thine. Yet mayst thou again grow better, if ever thou dost appease the anger of God who is the author of thy destruction. But I must restrain my emotion by the rules of history, since this is not the time for domestic lamentations, but for historical narrative. I therefore return to the events that followed in this sedition.

§ 4. For now there were three different sets of plotters in the city. Eleazar and his party, who guarded the sacred first-fruits, came against John in their cups, and those that were with John plundered the populace, and were excited against Simon, who had his supply of provisions from the city contrary to the interests of the rival factions. When therefore, John was assaulted on both sides, he made his men turn about, and threw his darts from the porticoes upon those from the city that came up against him, while he repelled by his engines of war those that attacked him from the temple. And if at any time he was free from those that were above him (which happened frequently from their being drunk and tired), he sallied out the more securely with a large force upon Simon and his party. And whatever parts of the city he came to, he set on fire those houses that were full of corn and all other kinds of necessaries. The same thing was done by Simon, who upon John's retreat attacked the city also; as if they had done so on purpose to serve the Romans, by destroying what the city had laid up against the siege, and by thus cutting off the sinews of their own strength. Accordingly, it so came to pass, that all the places round the temple were burnt down, and the city became half desert and half camp, and almost all the corn was burnt, which would have sufficed them for a siege of many years. So they were captured eventually owing to famine, which it was almost impossible they would have been, unless they had thus paved the way for it for themselves.

§ 5. And now that the city was infested on all sides by plotters and rabble, the people of the city, between them, were like a great body being torn to pieces. And the aged men and the women were in such distress in consequence of their internal calamities, that they prayed for the coming of the Romans, and earnestly hoped for an external war to free them from their domestic miseries.

The citizens themselves were in terrible consternation and fear, nor had they any opportunity of taking counsel and changing their conduct, nor was there any hope of coming to an agreement with their enemies, nor could such as wished flee away. For guards were set at all places, and the chiefs of the robbers, although they were at rivalry with one another in other respects, yet agreed in killing as their common enemies those that were for peace with the Romans, or were suspected of an inclination to desert, though they agreed in nothing but this, to kill those that deserved to be safe. The shouts also of those who were fighting were incessant both by day and night, but the continual lamentations of those that mourned were more dreadful still. And their calamities gave perpetual cause for lamentations, although the deep consternation they were in prevented their outward wailing; for being constrained by their fear to conceal their inward passions, they were inwardly tormented, without daring to open their lips in groans. Nor was any regard paid by their relations to those who were still alive, nor was any care taken for the burial of those who were dead; the reason for both was that every one despaired about himself. For those who were not among the seditious had no great desires for any thing, expecting for certain that they would very soon be killed; and the seditious fought against each other, and trod upon the dead bodies as they lay heaped one upon another, and taking up a mad rage from the dead bodies that were under their feet, became the fiercer; and were still inventing something or other that was pernicious against one another, and when they had resolved upon any thing, they executed it without mercy, and omitted no kind of outrage or barbarity. Nay, John wickedly employed the sacred timber in the construction of his engines of war. For the people and the high priests had formerly determined to underprop the temple, and raise the sanctuary twenty cubits higher, for king Agrippa had at very great expense, and with very great pains, brought from Mount Libanus [1] such timber as was adapted for that purpose, being wood well worth seeing both for

[1] Mount Lebanon.

for straightness and size. But as the war interrupted this work, John had them cut, and built towers with them, finding them long enough to oppose from them his adversaries that fought from the temple above him. He also had them brought and placed behind the inner court opposite the west end of the cloister, where alone he could place them, for the other sides were for a long way occupied by steps.

§ 6. Now John hoped to be too much for his enemies by these engines constructed by impiety, but God made his labour vain by bringing the Romans upon him before he had reared any of his towers. For Titus, when he had concentrated part of his force, and had ordered the rest to meet him at Jerusalem, marched from Cæsarea. There were the three legions that had accompanied his father when he laid Judæa waste, and also the twelfth legion which had been formerly beaten with Cestius; which legion, on other occasions remarkable for its valour, now marched with greater zeal to avenge itself on the Jews for what it had formerly suffered at their hands. Of these legions he ordered the fifth to march by Emmaus [1] to meet him, and the tenth to march by Jericho; [2] and himself set out with the rest, among whom were all those numerous auxiliaries that came from the kings, and a considerable number that came to his assistance from Syria. The gaps also made in these four legions by the picked men who were sent by Vespasian with Mucianus to Italy were filled up by the soldiers that came with Titus. These were two thousand men, chosen out of the army of Alexandria, and three thousand also followed him of those that guarded the river Euphrates, as also Tiberius Alexander, who was a most valuable friend of his both for his good-will to him and for his intelligence. He had formerly had the management of Egypt, but was now thought worthy to be general of the army, as he had been the first who had welcomed the new emperor,[3] and had joined himself to him with great fidelity, when things were uncertain, and fortune had not

[1] *'Amwâs*, near the foot of the mountains, to the left of the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem. Jewish War, i. 11, § 2.

[2] *er-Riha.*

[3] Vespasian.

yet declared for him. He now accompanied Titus as a counsellor in the emergencies of war, a position for which he was well qualified both from his age and experience.

CHAP. II.

How Titus marched to Jerusalem; and how he was in Danger, as he was making a Reconnaissance of the City. Of the place also where he pitched his Camp.

§ 1.

NOW as Titus advanced into the enemy's country, the auxiliaries that were sent by the kings marched first, and all the other auxiliaries with them, after whom followed those who were to make the roads and measure out the camp; then came the commanders' baggage, and after that the soldiers completely armed to guard it, and then came Titus himself, having with him another select body and the pikemen; and behind him the cavalry belonging to the legion. All these marched before the engines, and after them the tribunes and leaders of the cohorts with picked men; and after them the standards with the eagle, and before the standards the trumpeters belonging to them; next to these came the main body of the army, every legion being six deep; and the servants belonging to every legion came after these; and before these last the baggage; the mercenaries came last, and those that guarded them brought up the rear. Now Titus, according to the Roman usage, went in the front of the army in order, and marched through Samaria to Gophna,[1] a city that had been formerly taken by his father, and was now garrisoned by Roman soldiers. And when he had lodged there one night, he marched on in the morning; and when he had gone a day's march, he pitched his camp in the valley which the Jews, in their own tongue, call the Valley of Thorns,[2] near a certain village called Gabath-saul[3] (which signifies the hill of Saul), about thirty furlongs

[1] *Jifna.* Jewish War, i. 11, § 2.
[2] Probably a branch of *Wâdy Suweinit.*
[3] Either *Tell el-Fûl* or *Jeb'a.*

from Jerusalem. From thence he took with him six hundred picked horsemen, and went to make a reconnaissance of the city, to gauge its strength and the courage of the Jews, and to see whether, when they saw him, before a battle came off, they would be frightened and submit; for he had been informed, as was really true, that the people who had fallen into the hands of the seditious and the robbers were greatly desirous of peace, but being too weak to rise against the rest remained still.

§ 2. Now, so long as he rode along the straight road which led to the wall of the city, nobody appeared in front of the gates; but when he left the road, and turned aside towards the tower Psephinus,[1] and made his troop of horse file off, an immense number of Jews sallied forth suddenly at the towers called the Women's Towers, through the gate which was opposite the tomb of queen Helena,[2] and broke through his horse, and, standing directly opposite those that still rode along the road, hindered them from joining those who had turned aside from it, and cut off Titus and a few others. Now it was impossible here for him to go forward (because all the place had trenches dug from the wall for the gardens round about, and was full of walls at right angles and many hedges), and he saw it was also impossible to return back to his own men, because of the multitude of the enemies that lay between, and most of his men did not so much as know that the prince was in any danger, but supposed him still among them, and continued their flight. And he perceived that his preservation would be wholly owing to his own courage, and turned his horse round, and cried out aloud to those that were about him to follow him, and charged into the midst of his enemies, endeavouring to force his way through them to his own men. And hence we may principally learn, that both the turning-points in wars and the dangers of princes are in the hand of God. For though such a number of darts were thrown at Titus, when he had neither his helmet on nor his breast-plate (for, as I told you, he went out not to fight, but to make a reconnaissance), none of them touched his body, but merely whizzed

[1] At the north-west angle of the Third Wall.
[2] The 'Tombs of the Kings,' north of Jerusalem.

past without hurting him, as if all of them missed him on purpose. And he perpetually kept off with his sword those that came on his side, and overturned many of those that met him face to face, and made his horse ride over those that were overthrown. The enemy indeed made a great shout at the boldness of Titus, and urged one another on to rush upon him, but those against whom he rode fled, and dispersed pell-mell; while those that were in the same danger with him kept up close to him, though they were wounded both on their backs and on their sides; for they had each of them but one hope of safety, namely to assist Titus in opening a way before he was surrounded by his enemies. Now there were two of these at some distance from him, one of whom the enemy surrounded and slew with their darts, and his horse also, and slew the other as he leaped down from his horse, and carried off his horse with them. But Titus escaped with the rest, and got back safe to his camp. This success of the Jews in their first encounter with the Romans elated their minds, and gave them an ill-grounded hope, and this transient inclination of fortune on their side made them very confident as to the future.

§ 3. As the legion from Emmaus[1] joined him at night, Titus removed thence when it was day, and advanced to the place called Scopos;[2] from whence the city could well be descried, and the splendour and size of the temple, as the place, joining the north quarter of the city, was a plain, and very truly called Scopos.[3] And as he was then seven furlongs from the city, Titus ordered a camp to be constructed for two of the legions to be there together, and ordered another camp to be constructed three furlongs behind for the fifth legion; for he thought that they might be tired by their night march, and deserved being protected from the enemy, and so would with less fear construct their camp. And as they were just beginning to do so, the tenth legion had already arrived which came through

[1] *'Amwás.*

[2] *el-Musharif*, on the road leading from Jerusalem to *Nâblus*; the point at which Jerusalem and the Temple site are first seen by a traveller from the north.

[3] Fair-view.

Jericho, where a certain party of armed men had formerly lain to guard the pass which had been occupied before by Vespasian. These troops had orders to encamp six furlongs from Jerusalem, at the mount called the Mount of Olives, which lies opposite the city on the east side, and is parted from it by a deep ravine lying between called Cedron.

§ 4. Now, although hitherto the several parties in the city had been contending with one another perpetually, this foreign war now suddenly coming upon them in full stream put the first stop to their mutual strife, and, as the seditious now saw with alarm the Romans pitching three different camps, they began to think of an evil sort of concord, and said to one another, "What are we thinking of to suffer three fortified camps to be built to coop us in, so that we shall not be able to breathe freely? for while the enemy is securely fortifying himself in opposition to us, we sit still within our own walls, and become spectators only of their fine and excellent works, with our hands idle and our armour laid by. We are, it seems (so did they cry out), only courageous against ourselves, while the Romans are likely to gain the city without bloodshed owing to our factions." Thus did they encourage one another when they were got together, and seized their armour immediately, and sallied out upon the tenth legion, and rushed through the ravine, and fell upon the Romans with a prodigious shout, as they were fortifying their camp. And as the Romans were in different parties at their work, and so had mostly laid aside their arms (for they thought the Jews would not have ventured to make a sally upon them, and even had they been disposed to do so they supposed their sedition would have absorbed their attention), they were thrown into disorder unexpectedly, and some of them left the work they were about, and immediately retired, while many ran to their arms, but were struck and slain before they could turn round on the enemy. The Jews also flocked up perpetually in greater numbers, being encouraged by the good success of those who first made the attack, and as they had such good fortune, seemed both to themselves and the enemy to be more numerous than they really were. The disorderly way of their fighting also at first threw the Romans into disorder, as they had

been constantly used to fight in good order, and keeping their ranks, and obeying the orders given them. So the Romans were now taken at disadvantage, and gave way to the assaults made upon them; and although whenever those that were overtaken turned round upon the Jews, they checked them in their course, and wounded them, as they were less on their guard owing to their impetuosity; yet as more and more Jews sallied out of the city, the Romans were at last thrown into more and more disorder, and repulsed from their camp. Nay, things looked as though the entire legion would have been in danger, had not Titus been informed of the case they were in, and sent them succours immediately. So he reproached them for their cowardice, and turned back those that were running away, and fell himself upon the flank of the Jews with those picked troops that came with him, and slew a considerable number, and wounded more of them, and put them all to flight, and pushed them down the ravine. Now these Jews suffered greatly in the declivity, but when they were got through it, they turned about and faced the Romans, and there fought them with the ravine between them. Thus did they continue the fight till noon; but when it was already a little after noon, Titus set those that had come to the rescue with him, and those that belonged to the cohorts, in battle-array against the Jews who sallied out, and then sent the rest of the legion to the mountain-ridge to fortify their camp.

§ 5. This move of the Romans seemed to the Jews flight, and when the watchman who was placed upon the wall gave a signal by shaking his garment, a fresh swarm of Jews sallied forth with such impetuosity, that one might compare it to the running of the most savage wild beasts. Indeed none of those that were drawn up in battle-array against them could stand their attack, but, as if they had been hurled from an engine, they broke the enemies' ranks, who were put to flight and fled to the mountain; none but Titus himself, and a few others with him, being left in the midst of the declivity. Now these friends of his despised the danger they were in and stood their ground, being ashamed to leave their general, but earnestly exhorted him to give way to these Jews that were

fond of dying, and not to run into danger for those that ought to fight for him, but to consider what his position was, and not to fill the place of a common soldier, nor to stand his ground in such a sudden crisis as this, as he was general in the war, and lord of the world, on whom everything depended. These words Titus seemed not so much as to hear, but opposed those that ran upon him, and smote them on the face, and forced them back and slew them, and also fell upon the enemy as they marched *en masse* down the declivity, and thrust them back. But though they were so dismayed at his courage and strength, they did not flee even then to the city, but fell off from him on both sides, and pressed upon those that fled up the hill. But he still fell upon their flank, and checked their ardour. Meantime disorder and terror again seized those that were fortifying the camp at the top of the hill, upon their seeing those beneath them running away, and the whole legion was dispersed, for they thought that the sallies of the Jews were irresistible, and that Titus was himself put to flight; for they took it for granted, that, if he had stood his ground, the rest would never have fled. Thus were they possessed by a kind of panic fear, and some dispersed one way, some another, till some of them saw their general in the very heat of action, and being in great concern for him, loudly proclaimed the danger he was in to the entire legion. And now shame made them turn back, and they reproached one another with having done worse than running away by deserting their prince, so they used their utmost force against the Jews, and when they once lost ground on the declivity, they drove them to the bottom of the valley. The Jews fought indeed as they retired, but as the Romans had the advantage of the ground, and were above the Jews, they drove them all into the ravine. Titus also pressed upon those that faced him, and sent the legion again to fortify their camp, while he himself and those that were with him before resisted the enemy, and kept them back. Thus, if I must neither add any thing out of flattery, nor extenuate any thing out of envy, but speak the plain truth, Titus himself twice delivered the entire legion when it was in jeopardy, and gave them security to fortify their camp.

CHAP. III.

How Faction again revived in Jerusalem, and yet the Jews contrived Snares for the Romans. How Titus also threatened his Soldiers for their headlong Rashness.

§ 1.

AS now the war abroad ceased for a while, faction within revived; and as the feast of Unleavened Bread was now come, on the fourteenth day of the month Xanthicus, on which day it is believed the Jews were first freed from the Egyptians, Eleazar and his party opened the gates, and admitted such of the people as wished to worship God.[1] But John made use of this feast as a cloak for his treacherous designs, and armed the most obscure of his own party, most of whom were not purified, with weapons concealed under their garments, and sent them quickly into the temple to occupy it. And they, when they were got in, threw their garments away, and were at once seen to be in armour. Upon this there was very great disorder and disturbance in the sanctuary, as the people, who had no part in the sedition, supposed that this assault was made against all without exception, but the Zealots thought it was made against themselves only. So they left off guarding the gates any longer, and leaped down from the battlements before they came to an engagement, and fled to the underground parts of the temple; while the people that stood trembling at the altar were jostled and trampled upon in the sanctuary, and were beaten both with clubs and steel without mercy. Such also as had differences with others slew many persons that were quiet, out of private enmity and hatred, pretending that they belonged to some rival faction; and everyone that had formerly offended any of these plotters,

[1] Here we see the true reason of such vast numbers of Jews being in Jerusalem during this siege of Titus, and perishing therein; that the siege began at the feast of the Passover, when such prodigious multitudes of Jews and proselytes of the gate were come from all parts of Judæa, and from other countries, in order to celebrate that great festival.—W.

if now recognised, was led away to slaughter as a Zealot. And when they had cruelly treated the innocent in various ways they granted a truce to the guilty, and let those go off that came out of the underground parts; and themselves seized upon the inner temple, and upon everything stored therein, and then ventured to oppose Simon. Thus that sedition, which had been divided into three factions, was now reduced to two.

§ 2. Now Titus, intending to pitch his camp nearer the city than Scopos, placed opposite the Jews as many picked horse and foot as he thought sufficient to prevent their sallying out, and gave orders to the whole army to level all the ground up to the walls of the city. So they threw down all the hedges and fences which the inhabitants had put round their gardens and trees, and cut down all the fruit-trees that lay between them and the walls of the city, and filled up all the hollow places and gullies, and levelled projecting rocks with iron instruments, and so made all the place level from Scopos to Herod's tomb, which was close to the pool called the Serpent's Pool.[1]

§ 3. Now at this very time the Jews contrived the following stratagem against the Romans. The bolder sort of the seditious went out of the city at the towers called the Women's Towers, as if they had been ejected out of the city by those who were in favour of peace, and rambled about as if they were afraid of being assaulted by the Romans, and were in fear of one another; while those that stood at intervals upon the wall, and seemed to be men of the people, cried out aloud for peace, and entreated they might have security for their lives given them, and invited the Romans, promising to open the gates to them; and at the same time that they cried out this, they threw stones at their own people, as though they would drive them away from the gates. These also pretended that they were excluded by force, and that they begged those that were within to let them in; and rushing towards the Romans perpetually, they then turned back, and seemed to be in great alarm. Now the Roman soldiers did not suspect this trick of theirs, but thinking they had the one party in

[1] The sites of Herod's tomb and the Serpent's Pool *have not* been identified.

their power, and could punish them when they pleased, and hoping that the other party would open their gates to them, set about the matter at once. But Titus himself viewed this surprising conduct of the Jews with suspicion; for whereas he had invited them by Josephus to come to terms of accommodation only one day before, he could then receive no civil answer from them, so he ordered the soldiers to stay where they were. However, some of those that were in front of the works were too quick for him, and catching up their arms ran to the gates. Thereupon those that feigned to have been ejected at first retired: but as soon as the Romans had got between the towers on each side of the gate, the Jews ran out and surrounded them, and fell upon them, behind, while the multitude that stood upon the wall threw a quantity of stones and darts of all kinds at them, insomuch that they slew a considerable number and wounded most of them. For it was not easy for the Romans to escape from the walls, because those behind them pressed them forward; besides which, the shame they were in for their mistake, and the fear they were in of their commanders, encouraged them to persevere in their false step. So they fought with their spears a great while, and received many blows from the Jews, though indeed they gave as many blows again, and at last repelled those that had surrounded them. But the Jews pursued them as they retired, and followed them, and threw darts at them as far as the tomb of Queen Helena.[1]

§ 4. At this the Jews grew insolent at their good fortune, and in bad taste jeered at the Romans for being deluded by the trick they had put upon them, and brandished their shields, and leaped and shouted for joy. But the Roman soldiers were received with threats by their officers, and with indignation by Titus himself, who spoke as follows. These Jews, who are only led by desperation, do everything with care and circumspection; they contrive stratagems, and lay ambushes, and fortune gives success to their stratagems, because they are obedient, and preserve their good-will and fidelity to one another; while the Romans, to whom fortune is ever subservient because of their good

[1] The 'Tombs of the Kings.'

discipline and ready submission to their commanders, have now met with reverse owing to the contrary behaviour, and have been beaten in consequence of not being able to restrain their hands from action, and what is most to their reproach, have fought without the orders of their commanders in the very presence of their Prince. Truly, the laws of war cannot but groan heavily, as will my father himself also when he shall be informed of this blow, for he, who is grown old in wars, never made such a mistake. Our laws also ever inflict capital punishment on those who in the least break good order, while now they have seen an entire army leaving their post. However, those that have been so insolent shall be made immediately sensible, that even those who conquer among the Romans without orders are in disgrace." When Titus had spoken vehemently to the commanders in this way, it appeared evident that he would carry out the law against all that were concerned; so the soldiers' minds sunk in despair, as they expected to be put to death, and knew they deserved it. However, the other legions flocked round Titus, and supplicated him on behalf of their fellow-soldiers, and begged that he would pardon the rashness of a few because of the good discipline of all the rest; and promised on their behalf that they would make amends for their present fault by better behaviour for the time to come.

§ 5. And Titus attended to their petition and to expediency also; for he esteemed it fit to punish individuals in deed, but he thought that the punishment of multitudes should proceed no further than word: so he was reconciled to the soldiers, but gave them many directions to act more wisely for the future, and considered with himself how he might be even with the Jews for their stratagem. And now, when the space between the Romans and the walls had been levelled, which was done in four days, as he wished to bring the baggage of the army and the rest of the multitude safely to the camp, he posted the strongest part of his army opposite the wall which lay on the north of the city facing west, and drew up his army seven deep, with the foot in front, and the horse behind, each of the last in three ranks, whilst the archers stood in the midst in seven ranks. And as the Jews were

now prevented by so great a host from making sallies upon the Romans, both the beasts of burden of the three legions and the multitude marched on without fear. As for Titus himself, he encamped about two furlongs from the wall, at that part of it where was an angle opposite the tower called Psephinus, at which tower the compass of the wall extending north bent towards the west. And the other part of the army fortified itself at the tower called Hippicus,[1] and was also only two furlongs from the city. However, the tenth legion continued in its position upon the Mount of Olives.

CHAP. IV.

Description of Jerusalem.

§ 1.

THE city of Jerusalem was fortified with three walls, where it was not girt with impassable ravines (for in such places it had but one wall), and was built upon two hills opposite to one another, but divided in the middle by a ravine, at which the rows of houses ended. Of these hills, that which contained the upper city was much higher, and in length more direct; and because of its being fortified was called the Citadel by king David (he was the father of that Solomon who first built the temple), but it is by us called the Upper Market-place.[2] But the other hill, which was called Acra,[3] and supported the lower city, was the shape of the crescent moon. And opposite this was a third hill, but naturally lower than Acra, and parted formerly from the other by a broad ravine; but afterwards, when the Asamonæans reigned, they filled up the ravine with earth, wishing to join the city to the temple, and took off part of the height of Acra, and

[1] The tower at the *Jaffa* gate.

[2] The modern Sion; the western hill at Jerusalem.

[3] The position of the hill Acra is matter of dispute; some writers suppose it to be the hill on which the Church of the Holy Sepulchre stands, others the western slope of modern Sion, or the lower portion of the Temple Hill.

reduced it to a lower elevation than it was before, that the temple might be higher than it. Now the ravine of the Cheese-makers, as it was called, which (as I said before) separated the hill of the upper city from that of the lower, extended as far as Siloam; for that was the name we gave a fountain which had sweet water in it in great abundance. And on their outsides these two hills were surrounded by deep ravines, and because of the precipices on both sides were everywhere impassable.

§ 2. Now of the three walls the old one was hard to be taken, both because of the ravines and of the hill above them on which it was built. But besides that great advantage as to the place where it was situated, it was also built very strong, because David, and Solomon, and the kings who were their successors, were very zealous about this work. This wall began on the north at the tower called Hippicus, and extended as far as what was called Xystus, and then joined the council-house, and ended at the west portico of the temple.[1] But the other side westwards it began at the same tower, and extended through a place called Bethso to the gate of the Essenes, and after that it turned southwards above the fountain of Siloam, where it also again turned eastwards towards Solomon's Pool, and reached as far as a certain place which they called Ophlas,[2] where it joined the east portico of the temple. The second wall took its beginning at the gate which they called Gennath,[3] which belonged to the first wall; it only encompassed the north quarter of the city, and reached as far as the tower Antonia.[4] The beginning of the third wall was at the tower Hippicus, whence it reached towards the north quarter of the city as far as the tower Psephinus, and then

[1] This section of the first wall ran almost in a straight line from the *Jaffa* gate to the Temple enclosure at Wilson's Arch.

[2] The wall passed by the Protestant Cemetery, and then curved round to the pool of Siloam, taking in a larger area than that included within the present wall; it then passed round the hill of Ophel to the eastern cloister of the Temple. Solomon's Pool has not been identified.

[3] The site of the gate Gennath is unknown; it was possibly a gate leading to the gardens of Herod's palace.

[4] The course of the second wall is the subject of much dispute. Some writers draw it so as to include the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; others so as to exclude it. No certain trace of the wall has yet been found; and the point at which it commenced is still unknown.

extended as far as the tomb of Helena, who was queen of Adiabene, and mother of Izates: it then extended further, and passed by the sepulchral caverns of the kings, and turned off again at the corner tower at what is called the Monument of the Fuller, and joined the old wall at the ravine called Cedron.[1] Agrippa added this wall to the new portions of the city, which had been all unprotected before; for as the city became more populous, it gradually outgrew its old walls, and the people joining to the city those parts that were north of the temple near the hill, made the city considerably larger, and caused the fourth hill (which is called Bezetha[2]) to be inhabited also. This fourth hill lies opposite the tower Antonia, but is divided from it by a deep ditch, which was dug on purpose to prevent the foundations of the tower of Antonia[3] from joining this hill, and from being accordingly easy of access and less high. And the depth of the ditch made the height of the towers more remarkable. This new-built part of the city was called Bezetha in our language, which, if interpreted in the Greek language, might be called New Town. As therefore its inhabitants stood in need of protection, Agrippa, the father of the present king of the same name, began the wall I have been speaking of: but he left off building it when he had only laid the foundations, being afraid that Claudius Cæsar might suspect that so big a wall was built for the purpose of some innovation or rebellion. For the city could not possibly have been taken, if that wall had been finished in the same manner as it was begun; as it was constructed with stones twenty cubits long and ten cubits broad, which could never have been either easily undermined by any iron tools, or shaken by any engines. The wall was, however, ten cubits wide, and would probably have been greater in height than it was, had not his zeal who began it been hindered from

[1] The course of the third wall is equally a matter of dispute. Some writers carry it from the Jaffa gate to the point occupied by the Russian Consulate; and then by a bold sweep round to the present north-east angle of the city. Others make it almost conterminous with the existing wall of the city.

[2] The hill to the north of the *Harâm esh-Sherif*.

[3] The ditch which separated Antonia from Bezetha can still be traced in the *Souterrains* beneath the Convent of the Sisters of Sion.

exerting itself. After this, though it was raised with great diligence by the Jews, it only rose as high as twenty cubits, above which were battlements two cubits high, and turrets on the top of them three cubits high, so that the whole height extended to twenty-five cubits.

§ 3. Now the towers on this wall were twenty cubits in breadth, and twenty cubits in height, and were square and solid as the wall itself, and the masonry and beauty of the stones were no way inferior to those of the sanctuary itself. Above this solid height of towers, which was twenty cubits, there were rooms of great magnificence, and over them upper rooms, and several cisterns to receive rain-water, and broad ascents to each. Of such towers the third wall had ninety, and the space between each of them was two hundred cubits; and the middle wall had fourteen towers, and the old wall was divided into sixty. And the whole compass of the city was thirty-three furlongs. Now though the third wall was all of it wonderful, yet the tower Psephinus[1] was more wonderful still at the north-west corner, and there Titus took up his position. For as it was seventy cubits high, it not only afforded a prospect of Arabia at sunrise, but also of the utmost limits of the land of the Hebrews as far as the sea. It was an octagon. And opposite it was the tower Hippicus,[2] and near it were two others erected by king Herod in the old wall, which for size, beauty, and strength, exceeded all that were in the world. For besides the magnanimity of his nature, and his munificence towards the city, Herod built these in such a splendid manner to gratify his own private affection, for he dedicated these towers to the memory of the three persons who had been dearest to him, and from whom he named them, namely, his brother, his friend, and his wife. He had slain his wife in love [and jealousy,] as I have already related, and had lost the other two in war, courageously fighting. Hippicus, so called from his friend, was square, its length and breadth were each twenty-five cubits, and its height thirty, and it was solid throughout. Over this solid building, which was composed of great

[1] The exact position of Psephinus is not known.

[2] The tower at the *Jaffa* gate; an aqueduct still conveys water to the cisterns of the tower.

stones united together, was a reservoir twenty cubits deep, over which was an house of two stories (whose height was twenty-five cubits), divided into several parts; over which were turrets two cubits high, and all round battlements three cubits high, so that the entire height added together amounted to fourscore cubits. The second tower, which he called after his brother Phasaelus,[1] had its breadth and height equal, each of them being forty cubits; over which was a solid height of forty cubits; over which a portico ran round ten cubits high, defended by breastworks and bulwarks. There was also built over the portico in the middle another tower, divided into magnificent rooms and a place for bathing, so that this tower wanted nothing that might make it appear a royal palace. Its roof was also adorned with more battlements and turrets than the one I mentioned before, and its entire height was about ninety cubits, and the appearance of it resembled the tower of Pharos, which is a lighthouse for such as sail for Alexandria, but it was much larger than it in compass. It was now the place where Simon exercised his tyranny. The third tower Mariamne[2] (for that was the queen's name) was solid as high as twenty cubits; its breadth and its length were each twenty cubits. Its upper buildings were more magnificent and more ornate than the other towers, for the king thought it most proper for him to adorn that which was called after his wife handsomer than those called after men, as those were built stronger than this one that bore his wife's name. The entire height of this tower was fifty-five cubits.

§ 4. Now though these three towers were very high, they appeared much loftier because of their position; for the old wall whereon they were, was built on a high hill, and was itself a kind of crest of the hill but thirty cubits higher, and as the towers were situated on it, they appeared much higher. The size also of the stones was wonderful; for these towers were not made of common-sized stones, nor of such as men could carry, but of white marble hewn out of the rock; each stone was twenty cubits in

[1] The present 'Tower of David,' near the *Jaffa* gate.

[2] No remains of the tower Mariamne have yet been found; it was apparently east of Phasaelus.

length, and ten in breadth, and five in depth. They were so exactly joined to one another, that each tower looked like one entire and natural block of stone, afterwards moulded by the hands of the artificers into its present shape and angles; so little, or not at all, did their joints or connexion appear.[1] Now these towers were on the north side of the wall, and the king had a palace on the inside joining them, which exceeds all my ability to describe it. For it wanted no cost nor skill in its construction, but was entirely walled about to the height of thirty cubits, and was adorned with towers at equal distances, and with large dining rooms that would hold a hundred guests apiece; in which the variety of the stones is not to be expressed (for a large quantity of those that were everywhere rare was collected together), and the roofs were also wonderful, both for the length of the beams, and the splendour of their ornaments. The number of the rooms were also very great, and the variety of the carving in them was prodigious; and the furniture of all was complete, and most of the vessels that were put in them were of silver and gold. There were also many colonnades, one after another, round about, and in each of them curious pillars. And all the places exposed to the air were everywhere green; and there were several groves of trees, and long walks through them, and round them deep canals and cisterns, that in several places had brazen statues, through which the water ran out, and there were also many dove-cotes of tame pigeons round the canals. But indeed it is not possible to give a complete description of this palace, and the very remembrance of it is a torture to one, as reminding one what vastly rich buildings the fire which was kindled by the robbers consumed; for these were not burnt by the Romans, but by the plotters within the city, as I have already related, in the beginning of the rebellion. The fire began at the tower of Antonia, and went on to the palace, and consumed the roofs of the three towers.

[1] The remains of Phasaelus, as seen in the 'Tower of David,' fully bear out the description in the text.

CHAP. V.

Description of the Temple.

§ 1.

NOW the temple, as I have already said, was built upon a strong hill, and at first the plateau on its top was hardly sufficient for the sanctuary and the altar, for all round it was steep and precipitous. But when king Solomon, who was the person that built the temple, had built a wall on its east side, a portico was then added on an artificial mound, and on all its other sides the sanctuary was unprotected. But in subsequent ages the people added new mounds, and the hill became a larger plain. They then broke down the wall on the north side, and took in as much as sufficed afterwards for the area of the entire temple. And when they had built walls round three sides of the temple from the bottom of the hill, and had performed a work that was greater than could be hoped for (in which work long ages were spent by them, and all their sacred treasures were exhausted, which were replenished by those tributes which were sent to God from the whole world), they then built round the upper precincts as well as the lower part of the temple. The lowest part of this was erected to the height of three hundred cubits, and in some places more. However, the entire depth of the foundations did not appear, for they brought earth and filled up the ravines, desiring to level the narrow streets of the city. And they made use of stones of forty cubits in size. For the great quantity of money they then had, and the liberality of the people, made this attempt of theirs succeed wonderfully; and what could not so much as be hoped ever to be accomplished, was, by perseverance and length of time, brought to perfection.[1]

§ 2. Nor were the works above these foundations un-

[1] Recent surveys and excavations have shown that there is not so much exaggeration in the description of Josephus as was at one time supposed. See "Recovery of Jerusalem," and P. E. F. Memoir, "Jerusalem," for an account of the excavations.

worthy of them. For all the porticoes were double, and the pillars that supported them were twenty-five cubits in height, and were of one entire stone each of them, and that stone was white marble, and the roofs were adorned with fretwork of cedar curiously graven. The natural magnificence and excellent polish and good masonry made a handsome spectacle, thought it was not adorned on the outside with any work of the painter or sculptor. The porticoes were in breadth thirty cubits, and their entire area measured six furlongs, including the tower of Antonia. And all the space exposed to the air was laid with stones of various sorts. When you went through this space to the second temple, there was a partition of stone, whose height was three cubits, of very elegant construction; upon which stood pillars, at equal distances from one another, declaring the law of purity, some in Greek, others in Roman letters,[1] that no foreigner was to enter the holy place; for the second temple was called the holy place, and had an ascent of fourteen steps from the first temple, and was square, and had its own wall round it. Its exterior height, although forty cubits, was hidden by the steps, and inside the height was but twenty-five cubits. For being built on higher ground with steps, all the interior was not visible, being covered by the hill. Behind these fourteen steps to the wall was the distance of ten cubits, all level. Then there were other steps, each five cubits apiece, that led to the gates, which gates on the north and south sides were eight, on each of those sides four, and of necessity two on the east; for since there was a partition built for the women on that side, as the proper place where they were to worship, there was a necessity for a second gate for them; this gate was cut opposite the first gate. There was also on the other sides one south and one north gate, through which was a passage into the court of the women: for the women were not allowed to pass through the other gates, nor when they went through their own gate could they pass beyond their own wall of partition. This court was allotted for worship to the women of our own country and of other

[1] One of these stones, with the inscription in Greek, was discovered at Jerusalem by M. Clermont Ganneau in 1871. See P. E. F. "Quarterly Statement," 1871, p. 132.

countries equally, provided they were of our nation. The western side of this court had no gate at all, but the wall was built entire on that side. And the porticoes between the gates extended from the wall inward in front of the treasure-chambers, and were supported by very fine and large pillars. These porticoes were single, and, except for size, were no way inferior to those of the lower court.

§ 3. Now nine of the gates were on every side covered over with gold and silver, and similarly the door-posts and their lintels: but there was one gate outside the sanctuary of Corinthian brass, which greatly excelled those that were only covered over with silver and gold. Each gate had two doors, the height of each was thirty cubits, and the breadth fifteen. However, they had large spaces within containing rooms on each side built like towers, thirty cubits both in breadth and in length, and in height more than forty cubits. Two pillars twelve cubits in circumference supported each of these rooms. Now the size of the other gates was the same, but that beyond the Corinthian gate, which opened on the east opposite the gate of the sanctuary, was much larger; for its height was fifty cubits, and its doors were forty cubits, and it was adorned in a more costly manner, having much richer and thicker plates of silver and gold than the others. These nine gates had the silver and gold plates made for them by Alexander the father of Tiberius. Now fifteen steps led from the wall of the court of the women to the larger gate; whereas but ten steps led from there to the other gates.

§ 4. As to the sanctuary itself, the most sacred place, which was placed in the midst, it was ascended to by twelve steps. In front its height and breadth were equal, each being a hundred cubits, but behind it was forty cubits narrower, for on its front it had as it were shoulders on each side, that passed twenty cubits further. Its first gate seventy cubits high, and twenty-five cubits broad, had no doors; for it represented the invisible infinity of heaven; and its front was covered with gold all over, and through it all the first house within appeared, which was very large, and all the parts about the inward gate appeared to glitter with gold to those that saw them. And as the sanctuary was divided into two parts within,

only the first house was open to view. Its height was ninety cubits, and its length fifty cubits, and its breadth twenty cubits. And all the gate which opened into this first house, was, as I have said, covered with gold, as was the whole wall about it: it had also golden vines above it, from which clusters of grapes hung as tall as a man. But as the sanctuary was divided into two parts, the inner part was lower than the outer, and had golden doors fifty-five cubits in height, and sixteen in breadth. And before these doors was a veil of equal size as the doors, a Babylonian curtain, embroidered with blue and fine linen and scarlet and purple, and of a contexture that was truly wonderful. Nor was this mixture of colours without its mystical interpretation, but was a kind of image of the universe; for by the scarlet seemed to be enigmatically signified fire, by the fine linen the earth, by the blue the air, and by the purple the sea; two of them suggesting this resemblance by their colours, while the other two, the fine linen and the purple, suggest that resemblance by their origin, the earth producing the one, and the sea the other. This curtain had also embroidered upon it all that was to be seen in the heavens, except the signs of the Zodiac.

§ 5. When any persons entered within, the floor of the sanctuary received them. Its height was sixty cubits, and its length the same, and its breadth twenty cubits, and that sixty cubits in length was divided again, and the first part of it was cut off at forty cubits, and had in it three things very wonderful and famous among all mankind, the candlestick, the table [of shew bread,] and the altar of incense. Now the seven lamps, for so many lamps branched out from the candlestick, signified the seven planets, and the twelve loaves that were upon the table signified the circle of the Zodiac and the year; and the altar of incense by its thirteen kinds of sweet-smelling spices, with which the sea and earth and air replenished it, signified that all things belong to God and are all for his use. And the inmost part of all the temple was of twenty cubits, and was also separated from the outer part by a veil. In it there was nothing at all, but it was inaccessible and inviolable, and not to be seen by any,

and was called the Holy of Holies. Now about the sides of the lower part of the sanctuary were several chambers three stories high with passages out of one into another, to which there were entrances on each side from the gate of the temple. But the upper part of the temple had no such chambers, because the temple was narrower there, and forty cubits higher, and plainer than the lower part. Thus we gather that the whole height, including the sixty cubits from the floor, amounted to a hundred cubits.

§ 6. Now the outward front of the temple wanted nothing that could strike either men's minds or eyes. For it was covered all over with massive plates of gold, and reflected at the first rising of the sun a very fiery splendour, and made those who forced themselves to look upon it turn their eyes away, just as they would have done at the sun's own rays. But it appeared to strangers, when they were approaching it at some distance, like a mountain covered with snow, for where it was not gilt, it was exceeding white. On its top were spikes with sharp points, to prevent any pollution of it by birds sitting upon it. Of its stones some were forty-five cubits in length, five in height, and six in breadth. Before it stood the altar, fifteen cubits high, and fifty cubits both in length and breadth. It was built square, and had corners projecting like horns, and the ascent to it from the south was a gentle rise. It was made without any iron tool, nor did any iron tool so much as touch it at any time. There was also a wall of partition, about a cubit in height, made of fine stones, and pleasant to the sight, which ran round the sanctuary and altar, and kept the people that were outside away from the priests. Now those that had gonorrhœa and leprosy were excluded from the city entirely: women were also shut out of it when their courses were upon them, nor, when they were free from that impurity, were they allowed to go beyond the limit before mentioned. Men, also, that were not thoroughly pure, were prohibited to come into the inner court of the temple; nay, the priests themselves that were not pure were prohibited to come into it also.

§ 7. Now all those of the stock of the priests that could not minister because of some bodily imperfection came

within the partition, together with those that had no such imperfection, and had their share of the sacrifices with them because of their stock, but only used private garments; for nobody but the officiating priest had on sacred vestments. And those priests that were pure and without any blemish went up to the altar and sanctuary clothed in fine linen, and abstained from wine chiefly from the fear lest otherwise they should make some mistake in their ministration. The high priest also went up with them, not always indeed, but on the sabbath days and new moons, and on the occasion of any festival belonging to our nation, or public festal gathering. When he officiated, he had on drawers that hid his person and thighs, and had on an under garment of linen, together with a blue round garment, without seam and with fringe-work, reaching to the feet. There were also golden bells that hung upon the fringes, and pomegranates intermixed among them. The bells signified thunder, the pomegranates lightning. And the girdle that fastened the garment to the breast was embroidered with five zones of various colours, as gold and purple and scarlet and fine linen and blue, with which colours I said before the veils of the temple were embroidered also. Similar embroidery was upon the ephod, but the quantity of gold thereon was greater. Its figure was that of a breast-plate to be worn. There were upon it two golden buttons, like small shields, which buttoned the ephod to the garment: in these buttons were enclosed two very large and fine sardonyxes, having the names of the tribes of the nation inscribed upon them. On the front side hung twelve stones, three in rows one way, and four the other; a sardius, a topaz, and an emerald; a carbuncle, a jasper, and a sapphire; an agate, an amethyst, and a ligure; an onyx, a beryl, and a chrysolite; upon every one of which stones again was engraved the name of one of the twelve tribes. A mitre also of fine linen covered his head, which was tied by a blue riband, about which there was another golden crown, on which were engraven the sacred letters. They consisted of four vowels. However, the high priest did not wear these garments generally, but a more plain habit: he only wore them when he went into the most

sacred part of the temple, which he did but once in a year, on the day when our custom is for everybody to keep a fast to God. And thus much concerning the city and sanctuary, but about the customs and laws thereto relating I shall speak more fully another time; for much remains to be said about them.

§ 8. As to the tower of Antonia,[1] it was situated at the corner of the two porticoes of the first temple that faced west and north; and was erected upon a rock fifty cubits high and precipitous throughout. It was the work of king Herod, wherein he displayed his natural magnificence. In the first place, the rock itself was covered over with smooth tablets of stone from its foundation, partly for ornament, partly that any one who either tried to get up or down it might slip; and next, before the edifice of the tower, was a wall three cubits high, and within that wall all the space of the tower of Antonia was raised to the height of forty cubits. The interior had the size and form of a palace, being divided into all kinds of rooms and other conveniences, such as porticoes and places for bathing, and broad spaces for camps, so that, from having all conveniences, it seemed a city, but from its magnificence it seemed a palace. And the entire structure resembled that of a tower, and had also four other towers, namely at its four corners, whereof three were but fifty cubits high, but the one which lay at the south-east corner was seventy cubits high, so that from it the whole temple could be viewed. And where it joined the two porticoes of the temple, it had passages down to them both, by which the guard descended (for there always lay in this tower a Roman legion) and spread among the porticoes fully armed at the Jewish festivals, in order to watch the people, that they might not attempt any innovation; for the temple was a fortress that guarded the city, and the tower Antonia guarded the temple; and in that tower were the guards of all three. There was also a private fortress belonging to the upper city, which was

[1] The tower Antonia appears to have occupied the north-west corner of the *Haràm esh-Sherîf*, and the rock on which the Turkish Barracks now stand.

Herod's palace.[1] As for the hill Bezetha, it was divided from the tower of Antonia, as I have already said, and being the highest of all joined part of the new city, and was the only hill that shut out the view of the temple on the north. Thus much shall suffice at present about the city and walls, as I propose to make a fuller description elsewhere.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the Tyrants Simon and John. How Nicanor was wounded by a Dart, as Titus was going round the Wall of the City; which Event provoked Titus to press on the Siege.

§ 1.

NOW the warlike men that were in the city, and the multitude of the seditious that were with Simon, were ten thousand, besides the Idumæans, and these ten thousand had fifty commanders, over whom Simon was supreme. And the Idumæans that joined him were five thousand, and had ten commanders, among whom those of greatest eminence were Jacob the son of Sosas, and Simon the son of Cathlas. And John, who had seized upon the temple, had six thousand armed men under twenty commanders: the Zealots also that now came over to him, and left off their opposition, were two thousand four hundred, and had the same leader that they had formerly, Eleazar, as also Simon the son of Arus. Now, while these factions fought against one another, the people were their prey on both sides, as I have said already, and those of the people who would not join with them in their wicked practices were plundered by both factions. Now Simon held the upper city,[2] and the great wall as far as Cedron, and as much of the old wall as bent from Siloam to the east, and which went down to the palace of Monobazus, who was king of the Adiabeni beyond the Euphrates: he also held the

[1] Herod's palace and gardens lay to the south of the 'Tower of David.'

[2] The western hill or modern Sion.

fountain, and Acra (which was no other than the lower city), and all that reached to the palace of queen Helena, the mother of Monobazus. And John held the temple and the neighbouring parts for a great way, as also Ophla,[1] and the ravine called the ravine of Cedron. And they burnt all the space between them, and left it as a ground whereon they might fight against each other. For their internal dissensions did not cease even when the Romans were encamped near their walls, and although they had grown wiser for a while at the first attack the Romans made upon them, they returned to their former madness, and quarrelled and fought with one another again, and did every thing that the besiegers could desire them to do. Nor did they ever suffer any thing worse at the hands of the Romans than they made each other suffer, nor was there any misery experienced by the city after them that could be considered new, but it was most unhappy of all before it fell, while those that took it did it more good. For I venture to affirm that faction destroyed the city, and the Romans destroyed the faction, which was much stronger than our walls. So we may reasonably ascribe our misfortunes to our own people, but only justice to the Romans. But as to this matter let every one determine by the actions on both sides.

§ 2. Now, when affairs within the city were in this posture, Titus went round the outside of the city with some chosen horsemen, and looked about for a fit place where he might attack the walls. But as he was in doubt as to all sides (for approach was impossible where the ravines were, and on the other side the first wall appeared too strong for the engines), he thought it best to make his assault near the tomb of John the high priest. For there the first fortification was lower, and the second was not joined to it, the builders neglecting to build the wall strong where the new city was not much inhabited; and there was an easy passage to the third wall, through which he thought to take the upper city, and, through the tower of Antonia, the temple itself. Now, as he was going round the city, one of his friends, whose name was Nicanor,

[1] Ophel, south of the Temple.

was wounded with a dart on his left shoulder, as he approached with Josephus too near the wall, and attempted to discuss terms of peace with those that were upon the wall, for he was a person not unknown to them. This circumstance provoked Titus, who recognized by it their passion, that they would not keep their hands off even such as approached them for their safety, to press on the siege. He also at the same time gave his soldiers leave to ravage the suburbs, and ordered them to bring up timber and raise banks against the city. And when he had divided his army into three parts in order to set about those works, he placed the archers and those that shot darts in the midst of the banks, and before them he placed the engines that threw javelins and darts and stones, that he might prevent the enemy from sallying out upon their works, and stop those on the wall from being able to obstruct them. So the trees were cut down immediately, and the suburbs left bare. However, the Jews did not remain quiet, while the timber was being brought to raise the banks, and the whole army was earnestly engaged in the work. But the people of Jerusalem, who had been hitherto plundered and murdered, now felt good courage, for they supposed they would have breathing time, while the others were busy in opposing their enemies outside the city, and that they would now be avenged on those that had been the authors of their miseries, if the Romans did but come off victorious.

§ 3. However, John remained quiet from fear of Simon, even though his own men were anxious to make a sally upon their enemies outside. But Simon did not lie still, for he was near the besiegers, but placed his engines of war at due intervals upon the wall, both those which they took from Cestius formerly; and those which they got when they captured the garrison in the tower of Antonia. But though they had these engines in their possession, most of them had so little skill in using them, that they were in great measure useless, but there were a few who had been taught by deserters how to use them, and they used them, though in an awkward manner. They also threw stones and shot arrows from the wall at those who were making the banks; they also ran out upon them in companies, and engaged

with them. But those that were at work protected themselves with spreading hurdles over their banks, and pointed their engines at them when they sallied out from the city. Now the engines that all the legions had prepared were admirable, but especially those that belonged to the tenth legion, for their engines that threw darts were more powerful, and those that threw stones were larger than the rest, so that they not only repelled the sallies of the Jews, but also knocked down those that were upon the walls. Now, the stones that were thrown were of the weight of a talent, and they were carried two furlongs and further; and the blow they gave was irresistible, not only to those that stood first in the way, but also to those that were far behind them. As for the Jews, they at first watched the coming of the stone, for it was white, and could therefore be perceived not only by the great noise it made, but could be seen also before it came because of its brightness. So the watchmen that sat upon the towers gave them notice when the engine was let off and the stone projected, and cried out aloud in their national language, "The missile is coming."[1] Then those that were in its way moved out of it, and threw themselves down flat upon the ground; and by their taking this precaution the stone when it fell did them no harm. But the Romans contrived to prevent that by blacking the stone. They could then aim at them with success, when the stone was not seen beforehand, as it had been till then, and so they slew many at one blow. However, the Jews in spite of all this galling fire did not permit the Romans to raise their banks undisturbed; but with ingenuity and boldness kept repelling them both by night and day.

§ 4. And now, upon the finishing of the Roman works, the workmen measured the distance there was from the wall by lead and line, which they threw from their banks, for they could not measure it otherwise, as the Jews shot at them from above. And when they found that the battering-rams could reach the wall, they brought them up, and Titus placed his catapults at certain intervals nearer to the wall, that the Jews might not be able to repel the battering-rams, and gave orders that these last should go to work.

[1] Adopting Hudson's splendid emendation, ἰὸς instead of υἱός.

And when thereupon a prodigious noise rang all round on the sudden from three places, there was a great cry of alarm raised by the citizens that were within the city, and no less terror fell upon the seditious themselves. And both factions, seeing the common danger they were in, contrived to make common defence. So the different factions cried out to one another to act entirely in concert because of their enemies; saying they ought, anyhow, in their present circumstances, if God did not grant them a lasting concord, to lay aside their enmity against one another, and to unite together against the Romans. Accordingly, Simon gave those in the temple leave by proclamation to go upon the walls; John also himself, though he could hardly trust Simon, gave them the same leave. So on both sides they forgot their hatred and private quarrels, and formed themselves into one body, and manned the walls, and having a vast number of torches, threw them from the walls at the machines, and shot darts perpetually at those who impelled the battering-rams. Nay, the bolder sort leaped out *en masse* upon the hurdles that covered the machines, and pulled them to pieces, and fell upon those who were in charge of them, and got the better of them, not so much by any skill they had, as by their daring. However, Titus himself ceased not to send assistance to those that were the hardest pressed, and placed both horsemen and archers on each side of the engines, and so kept off those that tried to apply fire to them, and also repelled those that hurled missiles from the towers, and then set the battering-rams to work. But the wall did not yield to these blows, excepting where the battering-ram of the fifteenth legion knocked off the corner of a tower, while the wall continued unhurt; for the wall was not immediately in the same danger as the tower, for the latter jutted out a long way, so it could not easily break off any part of the wall with itself.

§ 5. And now the Jews intermitted their sallies for a while, but when they observed the Romans dispersed all abroad at their works and in their various camps, (for they thought the Jews had retired from weariness and fear,) they all at once made a sally near the tower Hippicus[1].

[1] Near the *Jaffa* gate.

through an obscure gate, and at the same time brought fire to burn the works, and went boldly up to the Romans, and to their very fortifications. And at the cry they made, those that were near them came quickly to their assistance, and those further off came running up. And the boldness of the Jews was too much for the good order of the Romans, and as they beat those whom they first fell upon, so they pressed hard those that were now gathered together. And the fight round the machines was very hot, for the Jews tried hard to set them on fire, and the Romans to prevent this; and on both sides there was a confused cry raised, and many of those in the forefront of the battle were slain. However, the Jews had the best of it from their desperate valour, and the fire caught hold of the works, and both all those works, and the engines themselves, would have been in danger of being burnt, had not most of the picked soldiers from Alexandria resisted this, and behaved with courage such as surprised even themselves, for they outdid in this fight those that had greater reputation than themselves. Such was the state of things till Titus took the stoutest of his horsemen, and attacked the enemy, and slew with his own hand twelve of those that were in the van of the Jews; and at the death of these men the rest of the multitude gave way, and he pursued them, and drove them all into the city, and saved the works from fire. Now, it happened in this fight, that a certain Jew was taken alive, and he by Titus' order was crucified before the walls, to see whether the rest of them would be terrified at the sight and give in. And after the retreat John, who was commander of the Idumæans, and was talking to a certain soldier of his acquaintance before the wall, was wounded in the breast by a dart shot at him by an Arabian, and died immediately, leaving the greatest grief to the Jews, and sorrow to the seditious. For he was distinguished both in action and for intelligence.

CHAP. VII.

How one of the Towers erected by the Romans fell down of its own accord; and how the Romans after great Slaughter got possession of the first Wall. Also how Titus made Assault upon the second Wall; also concerning Longinus the Roman, and Castor the Jew.

§ 1.

THE following night an unexpected panic fell upon the Romans. For whereas Titus had given orders for the erection of three towers fifty cubits high, that by setting men upon them at every bank, he might from thence drive back those who were upon the wall, it so happened that one of these towers fell down about midnight. And as its fall made a very great noise, a panic fell upon the army, and they all ran to arms, supposing that the enemy was coming to attack them. And a disturbance and tumult arose among the legions, and as no one could tell what had happened, they were in the greatest anxiety and doubt, and as no enemy appeared, they were afraid of one another, and every one demanded of his neighbour the watchword with great earnestness, as though the Jews had invaded their camp. And now they were like people beset by a panic fear, till Titus was informed of what had happened, and gave orders that all should be acquainted with the real state of things, and then, though not without some difficulty, they got rid of their alarm.

§ 2. Now these towers very much harassed the Jews, who otherwise opposed the Romans very courageously; for they were shot at by the enemy's lighter engines from those towers, as also by the javelin-men and archers and slingers. For the Jews could not get at them because of their height; and it was not practicable to take the towers, or to overturn them, because they were so heavy, or to set them on fire, because they were covered with plates of iron. So they retired out of the reach of the darts, and no longer endeavoured to hinder the shocks of the battering-rams, which by continually beating at the wall gradually pre-

vailed against it. And as the wall already gave way to Nicon[1] (for by that name did the Jews themselves call the largest of the Roman battering-rams, because it conquered all things), and they were now for a long while grown weary of fighting and mounting guard, and of bivouacking at a distance from the city, most grew faint-hearted and retired, especially as from their sloth and ill-advisedness on all occasions they thought it superfluous to guard the wall, there being, besides that, two other walls still remaining. Then the Romans mounted the breach, where Nicon[1] had made one, and all the Jews left guarding that wall, and retired to the second wall. So the Romans that had got over that wall opened the gates, and admitted all the army. Thus did the Romans get possession of the first wall on the fifteenth day of the siege, which was the seventh day of the month Artemisius, when they rased to the ground a great part of it, as they did also to the northern parts of the city, which had been also demolished by Cestius formerly.

§ 3. And now Titus pitched his camp within the city, at the place which was called the Camp of the Assyrians,[2] occupying all that lay between as far as Cedron, but taking care to be so far from the second wall as to be out of reach of the Jews' darts, and at once began his attacks upon it. Upon this the Jews divided themselves into several bodies, and courageously defended the second wall, while John and his men fought from the tower of Antonia, and from the north portico of the temple, and before the tomb of king Alexander; and Simon's division occupied the spot of ground near John's tomb, and fortified it as far as the gate[3] where water was brought in to the tower Hippicus. And the Jews frequently made violent sallies *en masse* from the gates, and fought the Romans, and when they were pursued all together to the wall, they were beaten in those conflicts, lacking the skill of the Romans, but they got the best of it in the battles from the walls. And the Romans were encouraged by their power joined to their

[1] That is, conqueror.

[2] Apparently in the north-west portion of the modern city, between the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the city wall.

[3] A gate on or near the site of the present *Jaffa* gate.

skill, as the Jews were by their boldness, which was nourished by the fear they were in, and that stoutness which is natural to our nation under calamities; they were also encouraged still more by the hope of deliverance, as the Romans were by their hopes of subduing them in a little time. So neither side grew weary; but attacks and fightings upon the walls, and perpetual sallies out in bodies, took place all day long; nor was there any mode of fighting that was not then put in use. Nay, night itself scarcely stopped them, though they began to fight in the morning, for night was passed without sleep on both sides, and was more trying than the day to them, for the Jews were afraid lest the wall would be taken, and the Romans lest the Jews should attack their camps: so both sides spent all night in their armour and were therefore ready to fight at the first dawn of light. And the rivalry among the Jews was who should first undergo danger, and so gratify their commanders, and they had a great veneration and dread of Simon above all, for to that degree was he regarded by every one of those that were under him, that at his command they were very ready to kill themselves with their own hands. And what made the Romans so courageous was their usual habit of conquering, and their inexperience of defeat, and their constant wars, and their perpetual drill, and the grandeur of their empire; and above all the constant presence of Titus everywhere. For it appeared disgraceful to play the coward when their Prince was present and fought bravely with them, and was himself at once an eye-witness of such as behaved themselves valiantly, and was there to reward them also; so it was esteemed an advantage to have one's valour known to the Prince, which made many display more valour than their strength warranted. For example, as the Jews were about this time standing in battle-array in a strong body before the wall, while both parties were throwing their darts at each other from a distance, Longinus, one of equestrian order, leaped out of the army of the Romans, and leaped into the very midst of the army of the Jews; and as they dispersed upon this attack, he slew two of their bravest men, striking one of them in the mouth as he was coming to meet him, and slaying the other with the very spear which he drew out

of the body of the first, with which he had pierced him through the side, as he was running away from him; and when he had done this, he got back safe from the midst of his enemies to his own side. Thus did he distinguish himself for his valour, and there were many who were ambitious of gaining the like reputation for bravery. And now the Jews were unconcerned at what they suffered at the hands of the Romans, and were only solicitous about what harm they could do them; and death itself seemed a very small matter to them, if at the same time as they fell they could but kill one of their enemies. But Titus considered the personal safety of his soldiers as important as their victory, and he said that inconsiderate valour was madness, and that that alone was true courage that was joined with prudence. He therefore commanded his men to take care when they fought their enemies that they received no harm from them, and so to show themselves to be truly valiant men.

§ 4. And now Titus brought up his battering-ram to the middle tower of the north wall, where a certain crafty Jew, whose name was Castor, lay in ambush with ten others like himself, the rest having fled away because of the archers. These men lay still for a while crouching under their breastworks, but when the tower began to rock they rose up, and Castor stretched out his hands as a petitioner, and called for Titus, and begged him in a miserable voice to have mercy upon them. And Titus, in his simplicity, believing him to be in earnest, and hoping that the Jews did now repent, stopped the working of the battering-ram, and forbade them to shoot at these suppliants, and bade Castor say what he wished. And when he said that he would come down, if Titus would give him his right hand for his security, Titus replied that he was well pleased at his good sense, and would be well pleased if all the Jews were of the same mind, and that he was ready to offer the same security to the city. Now five of the ten dissembled with him, and pretended to beg for mercy, while the rest cried out aloud that they would never be slaves to the Romans, when it was in their power to die free. Now while these men were quarrelling for a long while, the attack was delayed, and Castor sent to Simon, and told

him that he might take his time to deliberate about urgent matters, for he himself would elude the power of the Romans for a considerable time. And at the same time that he sent this message, he appeared openly to exhort those that were unwilling to accept Titus' offer of security; but they seemed very angry at this, and brandished their naked swords upon the breastworks, and struck themselves upon their breastplates, and fell down as if they had been slain. Thereupon Titus, and those that were with him, were amazed at the courage of the men; and as they were not able, being on lower ground, to see exactly what was taking place, they marvelled at their great fortitude, and pitied their calamity. Meantime a certain person shot a dart at Castor, and wounded him in the nose, whereupon he at once pulled out the dart, and showed it to Titus, and complained that this was unfair treatment. And Titus reproved him that shot the dart, and sent Josephus, who stood by him, to offer his right hand to Castor. But Josephus said that he would not go to him, for these petitioners meant nothing that was good; he also restrained those friends of his who were anxious to go. But one Æneas, a deserter, said he would go to him. Castor also called out to them, that somebody should come and receive the money which he had with him; which made Æneas the more earnestly run to him with his bosom open. Then Castor took up a great stone, and threw it at him, which missed him because he guarded himself against it, but it wounded another soldier who was advancing. When Titus understood that this was a trick, he saw that mercy in war is a pernicious thing, because such cunning tricks have less scope for them in the school of severity. So he set his battering-ram to work more strongly than before, because of his anger at the trick put upon him. But Castor and his companions set the tower on fire when it began to give way, and leaped through the flames into a hidden vault that was under it, which made the Romans again suppose that they were men of great courage, as having cast themselves into the fire.

CHAP. VIII.

How the Romans took the second Wall twice, and got ready for taking the third Wall.

§ 1.

NOW Titus took the second wall the fifth day after he had taken the first, and as the Jews fled from it, he entered inside it with a thousand armed men, and those his choice troops, at the place where were the wool market and smiths' shops, and the market for garments, of New Town,[1] and where the narrow streets led obliquely to the wall. Now if Titus had either demolished a considerable part of the wall immediately, or on entering in had, according to the law of war, destroyed what was left, his victory would not, I suppose, have been mixed with any detriment to himself. But as it was, out of the hope he had that he should make the Jews ashamed of their obstinacy, by his showing himself unwilling though he was able to afflict them more than was actually necessary, he did not widen the breach of the wall to make retreat easy upon occasion; for he did not think those whom he thought of benefiting would lay snares for him. When therefore he entered in, he did not permit his soldiers to kill any of those they captured, nor to set fire to their houses, nay, he gave leave to the seditious, if they had a mind to fight without any harm to the people, to do so, and promised to restore the people's effects to them. For he was very desirous to preserve the city for himself, and the temple for the city. As to the people, they had been for a long time ready to comply with his proposals, but to the fighting men this humanity of his seemed weakness, and they imagined that Titus made these offers because he was not able to take the whole city. They also threatened death to the people, if any one of them should say a word about surrender, and cut the throats of such as talked of peace, and attacked the Romans that had come inside the wall,

[1] On Bezetha.

some meeting them in the narrow streets, and some fighting from their houses, and others made a sally at the upper gates outside the wall, at whom those that guarded the wall were so frightened, that they leaped down from their towers, and retired to their camps. Upon this a great shouting was made by the Romans that were within, because they were surrounded on every side by their enemies; as also by those Romans that were without, because they were in fear for those that were left in the city. And the Jews kept continually flocking up, and had great advantage over the Romans from their knowledge of the narrow streets, and they wounded many of them, and fell upon them and drove them out of the city. Now these Romans were forced to make the best resistance they could, for they were not able to get out *en masse* at the narrow breach in the wall; indeed it is probable that all those who had entered in would have been cut to pieces, had not Titus come to their aid. For he ordered the archers to stand at the upper ends of the narrow streets, and stood himself where the greatest number of the enemy was, and with his darts kept them back, as did also Domitius Sabinus with him, a valiant man, and one that in this battle showed himself so. And Titus continued to shoot darts at the Jews perpetually, to hinder them from coming at his men, until all his soldiers had withdrawn.

§ 2. Thus were the Romans driven out, after they had got possession of the second wall. Whereupon the fighting men that were in the city were lifted up in their minds, and elated at their success, and began to think that the Romans would never venture to come into the city any more, and that, if they themselves fought, they would not be any more beaten. For God had blinded their minds because of the transgressions they had been guilty of, nor did they realize how much greater forces the Romans had than those that were now repelled, any more than they saw that famine was creeping upon them. For they could still feed themselves on the public miseries, and drink the blood of the city. But now poverty had for a long time seized upon the good, and a great many had already died from want of necessaries; but the factious thought the destruction of the people a relief to themselves. For they

desired that none might be preserved but such as were against a peace with the Romans, and were resolved to live in opposition to them, and they were pleased when those of the contrary opinion died off *en masse*, as being then freed from a heavy burden. Such was their disposition of mind with regard to those who were within the city. And they covered themselves with their armour, and tried to prevent the Romans who were trying to get into the city again, and fortified with their own bodies the breach in the wall. Thus did they valiantly defend themselves for three days; but on the fourth day they could not hold out against the energy of Titus' assault, but were compelled to flee where they had fled before. So he got possession again of the wall, and at once rased it to the ground entirely; and when he had put a garrison into the towers that were on the south of the city, he considered how he might storm the third wall.

CHAP. IX.

As the Jews were not at all mollified by his leaving off the Siege for a while, Titus set himself again to prosecute the same; but soon sent Josephus to treat with his fellow-countrymen about Peace.

§ 1.

TITUS now determined to relax the siege for a little while, and to afford the factious an interval for consideration, and to see whether the rasing to the ground of their second wall would not make them a little more compliant, or the fear of famine (for the spoils they had got by rapine would not be sufficient for them long), and he made use of this relaxation in order to compass his own ends. Accordingly, when the appointed time came for him to distribute provision-money to the soldiers, he gave orders that his commanders should draw up the army in battle-array in the face of the enemy, and then give every one of the soldiers their pay. Then the soldiers, according to custom, opened the cases in which their arms before lay covered, and marched with their breastplates on, and the

cavalry led their horses in their fine trappings. Then did the places before the city glitter with silver and gold a long way; nor was any thing so agreeable to Titus' own men, or so terrible to the enemy, as that sight. For the whole of the ancient wall, and the north side of the temple, was full of spectators, and one might see the houses full of people peeping out to look at them; nor was there any part of the city which was not covered with people. And a very great consternation seized upon the boldest, when they saw all the army in one place, and observed the fineness of their arms, and the good order of the men. And I cannot but think that the factious would have changed their minds at that sight, had not the crimes they had committed against the people been so dreadful, that they despaired of forgiveness from the Romans; and as they believed that death with torture would be their punishment if they surrendered, they thought it much better to die in war. Fate also so far prevailed over them, that the innocent had to perish with the guilty, and the city was doomed to destruction with the seditious that were in it.

§ 2. Now the Romans spent four days in distributing their provision-money to the several legions. But on the fifth day, as no proposal for peace came from the Jews, Titus divided his legions into two parts, and began to raise banks both at the tower of Antonia[1] and at John's tomb, intending to take the upper city at that tomb, and the temple at the tower of Antonia; for if the temple were not taken, it would be dangerous to occupy the city. So at each of these places he raised banks, each legion raising one. As for those that worked at John's tomb, the Idumæans and Simon's soldiers made sallies upon them, and hindered their work, while John's party and the multitude of Zealots did the same to those who were before the tower of Antonia. The Jews were now too much for the Romans, not only in direct fighting, because they stood upon higher ground, but also because they had now learned to use their engines, for their continual use of them one day after another by degrees improved their skill. For they had three

[1] The two attacks were at Antonia, at the north-west corner of the *Haram esh-Sherîf*: and at John's tomb, in the vicinity of the *Jaffa* gate.

hundred engines for darts, and forty for stones, and by them they made it more difficult for the Romans to raise their banks. But Titus, knowing that the city would be either saved or destroyed for himself, not only pressed on the siege, but did not neglect to exhort the Jews to repentance. So he mixed counsel with action, and being aware that argument is frequently more effectual than force, he urged them to surrender the city which was now in a manner already taken, and so to save themselves, and sent Josephus to speak to them in their own language, for he imagined they might yield to the persuasion of a fellow-countryman of their own.

§ 3. So Josephus went round the wall, and tried to find a place that was out of reach of their darts, and yet within their hearing, and besought them in many words to spare themselves and the people, and to spare their country and temple, and not to be more hard-hearted in these matters than foreigners. For the Romans, though they had no part in those things, respected what their enemies regarded as sacred, and had till now kept their hands off them, while those who were brought up among them, and who, if they were preserved, would be the only people that would reap the benefit of them, were urgent to have them destroyed. Moreover, they had seen their strongest walls rased to the ground, and the wall still remaining was weaker than those that had been taken; and they knew the power of the Romans was invincible, and to serve them was no new experience. And if it was noble to fight for liberty, that ought to have been done at first; for after having once fallen under the power of the Romans, and having submitted to them for so long a time, then to try to shake off their yoke was the action of such as had a mind to die miserably, not of such as were lovers of liberty. Besides, it was right to despise ignoble masters, but not those who had all things under their feet. For what parts of the world had escaped the Romans, unless such as were of no use either from intense heat or intense cold? And it was evident that fortune had on all sides been transferred to them; and that God, who had given all the nations power in turn, had now settled in Italy. Moreover, it was a strong and fixed law, among brute beasts as well as among men, to yield to those that

were too strong for them, and that the dominion should be with those who were supreme in war. That was why their forefathers, who were far superior to them both in souls and bodies and other advantages besides, had yet submitted to the Romans, which they would not have done, had they not known that God was with them. As for themselves, what did they rely on in holding out, when most of their city was already taken, and when those that were within it were in greater misery than if they had been taken, if their walls were still standing? For the Romans were not unacquainted with the famine which was in the city, whereby the people were already consumed, and the fighting men would soon be so too. For even if the Romans should raise the siege, and not fall upon the city with their swords in their hands, yet was there an irresistible war that beset them within, and grew bigger every hour, unless indeed they were able to wage war with famine, and fight against it, or could alone of mankind conquer their natural appetites. He added further, that it would be well to change their conduct, before their calamities were become incurable, and to have recourse to safety while they had opportunity. For the Romans would not bear malice for their past actions, unless they persevered in their obstinate behaviour to the end; for they were by nature mild in their conquests, and preferred what was expedient to gratifying their passions. And what advantage could there be in having a city empty of inhabitants, and a desert region? That was why Titus was now willing to offer them his right hand; whereas, if he took the city by force, he would not spare any of them, especially if they rejected his offers in this their dire distress. For the walls that were already taken assured him that the third wall could not but be quickly taken also; and, even if their fortifications should prove too strong for the Romans to break through them, yet would famine fight for the Romans against them.

§ 4. While Josephus was making this exhortation to the Jews, many of them jested at him from the wall, and many railed at him, nay, some threw their darts at him. And as he could not persuade them by open advice, he betook himself to the history of their nation, and cried out, "O miserable people, and unmindful of your own helpers, will you fight

with weapons and hand to hand against the Romans? When did we ever conquer any other nation by such means? and when did God, the creator of the Jews, not avenge them when they had been injured? Will not you turn and consider what made you fight with such success, and how great a divine helper you have profanely abused? Will not you recall to mind the prodigious things done for your forefathers, and with regard to this holy place, how great enemies of yours God in days of old subdued unto you? I indeed tremble to declare the works of God to people unworthy to hear them: however, hearken to me, that you may know that you are fighting not only against the Romans, but also against God himself. In old times one Nechao king of Egypt (who was also called Pharaoh) came with a countless army of soldiers, and seized queen Sarah, the mother of our nation. What did Abraham our progenitor then do? Did he defend himself against this tyrant by war, although he had three hundred and eighteen captains under him, and an immense army under each of them, or did he deem them no number at all without God's assistance, and only spread out his hands towards this holy place, which you have now polluted, and enlisted God as his invincible supporter? Was not his queen sent back undefiled to her husband the very next evening, while the king of Egypt fled away, adoring this place which you have defiled by shedding therein the blood of your own countrymen, and trembling at the visions which he saw in the night-season, and bestowing both silver and gold on the Hebrews, as on people beloved by God? Shall I be silent, or speak of the removal of our fathers into Egypt, who, when they were used tyrannically, and had fallen under the power of foreign kings for four hundred years together, though they might have defended themselves by war and by fighting, did yet do nothing but commit themselves to God? Who is there that does not know that Egypt was over-run with all sorts of wild beasts, and harassed by all sorts of plagues, that their land did not bring forth its fruit, that the water of the Nile failed, and that the ten plagues of Egypt followed one upon another, and that owing to this our fathers were sent away with a guard without any bloodshed, and without running any

danger, because God conducted them as his peculiar servants? Moreover, did not Palestine groan under the ravage the Assyrians made, when they carried away our sacred ark? And did not their idol Dagon groan, as also the entire nation of those that carried the ark away; for they were smitten with a loathsome disease in the secret parts of their bodies, and their very bowels came down with what they had eaten, till those hands that stole the ark away were obliged to bring it back again, and that with the sound of cymbals and kettledrums, and with oblations to appease the anger of God for the violation of his holy ark? God was then our general, and accomplished those great things for our fathers, because they did not meddle with war and fighting, but committed it to him to judge about the affair. When Sennacherib, king of the Assyrians, brought in his train all Asia, and encompassed this city with his army, did he fall by the hands of men? Were not those hands lifted up to God in prayers, without meddling with arms, when the angel of God destroyed that countless host in one night? And did not the Assyrian king, when he arose the next day, find an hundred and eighty-five thousand dead bodies, and did he not with the remainder of his army flee away from the Hebrews, though they were unarmed and did not pursue after him? You also know of our slavery at Babylon, where our people were captives for seventy years, and not restored till Cyrus gratified God by bringing it about; when they were restored by him, and again celebrated the worship of their deliverer in his temple. And, to speak generally, we can produce no example wherein our fathers got any success by war, or failed of success without war, when they committed themselves to God. When they stayed at home they conquered, as it pleased their Judge, but when they went out to fight, they always met with reverses; for example, when the king of Babylon besieged this very city, and our king Zedekiah fought against him, contrary to the prophecies of Jeremiah, he was himself taken prisoner, and saw the city and sanctuary overthrown. Yet how much greater was the moderation of that king than is that of your present rulers, and that of the people under him than is that of you at this time! For when Jeremiah cried out aloud, that

God was very angry with them because of their transgression, and told them they would be taken prisoners unless they surrendered up their city, neither did the king nor the people put him to death. But you (to pass over what you have done within the city, which I am not able to describe as your wickedness deserves), you I say abuse me, and throw darts at me, who only exhort you to save yourselves, being provoked when you are put in mind of your sins, and being unable to bear the very mention of those crimes which you every day perpetrate. To take another example, when Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, besieged this city, and was guilty of many outrages against God, and our forefathers met him in arms, they themselves were slain in the battle, and the city was plundered by our enemies, and the sanctuary was desolate for three years and six months. Why need I bring any more examples? Indeed, what can it be that has stirred up an army of the Romans against our nation? Is it not the impiety of the people of our country? And whence did our servitude originate? Did it not proceed from the dissensions of our forefathers, when the madness of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus and their mutual quarrels brought Pompey upon this city, when God reduced those who were unworthy of liberty to subjection to the Romans? For after a siege of three months they had to surrender, although they had not been so guilty of offences with regard to our sanctuary and our laws as you have been, and that though they had much greater resources for war than you have! Do we not know what end Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, came to, in whose reign God again punished the people's offences by the capture of this city? And when Herod, the son of Antipater, brought upon us Sossius, and Sossius brought upon us the Roman army, they were then surrounded and besieged for six months, till as a punishment for their sins they were captured, and the city was plundered by the enemy. Thus it appears that warfare is never allowed our nation; but that capture always follows our fighting. For I suppose that such as inhabit this holy place ought to commit the disposal of all things to God, and to disregard the hand of men, when they plead to the Judge above. But as for you, what have you done of the things approved of by our legis-

lator? and what have you not done of the things that he condemned? How much more impious are you than those who were so quickly captured! You have not disdained so much as those sins that are done in secret, as thefts, and treacherous plots against men, and adulteries. Do you not vie with one another in rapine and murders, and do you not invent strange modes of wickedness? Nay, the temple itself is become the receptacle of all, and the divine place is polluted by the hands of our own countrymen, although it was reverenced by the Romans who lived at a distance, for they suffered many of their own customs to give place to our law. And, after all this, do you expect him whom you have so impiously abused to be your helper? You have forsooth a right to be petitioners, and to call upon him to assist you, so pure are your hands! Did our king lift up such hands in prayer against the king of Assyria, when God destroyed that great army in one night? And do the Romans commit such wickedness, as did the king of Assyria, that you may hope for the like vengeance upon them? Did not that king accept of money from our king on condition that he should not destroy the city, and yet, contrary to the oath he had taken, did he not come down to burn the temple? Whereas the Romans demand no more than the accustomed tribute which our fathers paid to their fathers; and if they but once obtain that, they will neither destroy this city, nor touch this sanctuary. Nay, they will in that case grant you besides, that your posterity shall be free, and your possessions secured to you, and they will preserve your holy laws inviolate. It is indeed madness to expect that God should appear as well disposed towards the wicked as towards the righteous, for he knows when it is proper to punish people for their sins immediately. Accordingly, he broke the power of the Assyrians the very first night that they pitched their camp. And had he judged our nation worthy of freedom, or the Romans deserving of punishment, he would have immediately inflicted punishment upon those Romans (as he did upon the Assyrians) when Pompey began to meddle with our nation, or when after him Sossius came up against us, or when Vespasian laid waste Galilee, or lastly now, when Titus drew near the

city. Whereas Magnus[1] and Sossius did not only suffer nothing, but took our city by storm, and Vespasian went from the war he made against you to become emperor. As for Titus, those springs that were formerly dried up for you run very plentifully for him. For you know very well how Siloam,[2] as well as all the other springs outside the city, so failed that water was sold by measure;[3] whereas they are now so full of water for your enemies, that there is sufficient drink not only for themselves and their cattle, but for their gardens also. The same wonderful phenomenon you experienced formerly at the time of the capture of our city, when the forementioned king of Babylon made war against us, and when he took our city, and burnt our temple, though I believe the Jews of that age were not so impious as you are. So that I think God is fled from his sanctuary, and stands on the side of those against whom you now fight. Why, even a good man will flee from an impure house, and will hate those that are in it; and do you think that God will abide with you in your crimes, who sees all secret things, and hears things kept most private? Though what crime is there that is so much as kept secret or concealed by you? nay, what is not open to your enemies? For you make a pompous show of your lawless doings, and vie with one another daily which of you shall be the worse, and make a public display of your vice as if it were virtue. However, there is yet a road left for your preservation, if you are willing to take it; for God is easily reconciled to those that confess their faults and repent of them. Ye men of iron, cast away your arms, and take pity on your country already going to ruin; return from your wicked ways, and have regard to the beauty and excellence of the city you are going to betray, and of the temple rich with the donations of so many nations! Who will first set these things on fire? who wishes that these things should be no more? and what is there that can better deserve to be preserved? O

[1] That is, Pompey.

[2] Siloam derives its water, by a rock-hewn channel, from the Virgin's Fountain, in the Cedron Valley, which was probably closed at the time of the siege.

[3] Literally, by amphoræ.

hard-hearted creatures, and more unfeeling than stones! And if you do not look on these things with genuine eyes, yet have pity upon your families, and let every one of you set before your eyes your children and wives and parents, who will soon perish either by famine or war. I am aware that this danger extends to my mother and wife, and to my not ignoble family, and house very eminent in old time; and perhaps you imagine that it is on their account only that I give you this advice. If that be so, kill them, nay, take my blood as the hire of your safety; for I am ready to die, if you will but return to a sound mind after my death."

CHAP. X.

How many of the People had a great inclination to desert to the Romans; also what intolerable things those that stayed in the City suffered from Famine, and the sad Consequences thereof.

§ 1.

AS Josephus uttered these words in a loud voice, not without tears, the seditious would neither yield to what he said, nor did they deem it safe to alter their conduct; but the people had a great inclination to desert to the Romans. So some of them sold what they had for very little, and others swallowed down their most precious treasures, namely pieces of gold, that they might not be found out by the robbers, and when they had escaped to the Romans, went to stool, and so had wherewithal to provide plentifully for themselves. For Titus let a great number of them go away into the country, wherever each pleased. And the main reason why they were so ready to desert was that now they would be freed from those miseries which they endured in the city, and yet would not be slaves to the Romans. However, John and Simon, and their factions, more carefully watched these men's going out, than they did the coming in of the Romans; and if any one did but afford the least shadow of suspicion of such an intention, his throat was cut immediately.

§ 2. As for the richer sort, their staying in the city brought death all the same; for they were put to death on the pretext that they were going to desert, but in reality that the robbers might get their property. The recklessness of the seditious did also increase with the famine, and both these miseries grew every day worse. And as there was no corn anywhere apparent, the robbers came running up, and ransacked houses; and if they found any corn, they tortured persons as if they had denied they had any; and if they found none, they tortured them worse, because they supposed they had more carefully concealed it. The test they made use of whether they had any or not was the bodies of these miserable wretches. If they were in good condition, they supposed they were in no want at all of food; but if they were wasted away, they walked off without searching any further; for they did not think it reasonable to kill such as would very soon die for want of food. Many indeed privately sold their possessions for one measure of wheat, if they were of the richer sort, but of barley if they were poorer; and when they had so done, they shut themselves up in the inmost rooms of their houses, and ate the corn they had got, some without grinding it because of the extreme want they were in; and others baked bread of it, as necessity and fear dictated. Nowhere was a table laid for a distinct meal, but they snatched the bread out of the fire only partially baked, and ate it greedily.

§ 3. Miserable were now their meals, and it was a sight for tears, for the strong had more than their share, and the weak lamented their going short. But famine overcomes all other passions, and is destructive of nothing so much as modesty; for what is otherwise worthy of reverence is in this case despised. Indeed wives pulled the morsels that their husbands were eating out of their very mouths, and children did the same to their fathers, and what was still more pitiable, so did mothers to their infants; and when those that were most dear were perishing in their hands, they were not ashamed to take from them the very last drops that might have preserved their lives. Yet while they ate in this manner, they were not unobserved in so doing; for the seditious every-

where stood, over them, and snatched away from them what they had got from others. For whenever they saw any house shut up, this was to them an indication that the people within had got some food; whereupon they straightway broke open the doors, and ran in, and took pieces of what they were eating almost out of their very throats by force. And old men who held their food fast were beaten, and if women hid what they had within their hands, their hair was torn for so doing. Nor was there any pity shown either to grey hairs or to babes, but they lifted up children from the ground, as they hung upon the morsels they had got, and dashed them down upon the ground. But they were still more barbarous and cruel to those who tried to prevent their coming in, and had actually gulped down what they were going to seize upon, as if they had been unjustly defrauded of their rights. They also invented terrible methods of torment to discover where any food was, stopping up with pulse the passages of the private parts of these miserable wretches, and driving sharp stakes up their fundaments. And a man was forced to bear what it is terrible even to hear, in order to make him confess that he had but one loaf of bread, or that he might bring out a handful of barley-meal that was concealed. And this was done when these tormentors were not themselves hungry, for the thing would have been less barbarous had necessity forced them to it, but it was only done to keep their recklessness in exercise, and to get before-hand provisions for themselves for the following days. These men went also to meet those that had crept out of the city by night as far as the Roman outposts, to gather plants and herbs that grew wild; and when such people thought they had got clear of the enemy, they snatched from them what they were bringing with them, even while they frequently entreated them, invoking the awful name of God, to give them back some part of what they had at great danger brought, but they would not give them the least crumb; and it was a subject of congratulation to these poor wretches that they were only spoiled, and not killed also.

§ 4. Such was the treatment that the lower sort of people suffered from the tyrant's body-guards; but the men

that were of rank and rich were carried before the tyrants themselves. Some of them were falsely accused of laying treacherous plots, and were consequently put to death, others of them were charged with designs of betraying the city to the Romans; but the readiest way of all was to suborn somebody to inform that they were resolved to desert to the enemy. And he who was utterly despoiled of what he had by Simon, was sent back again to John, as of those who had been already plundered by John, Simon got what remained; so that they drank in turn among themselves the blood of the populace, and divided the dead bodies of the poor creatures between them. And though they contended with each other for the mastery, yet they very well agreed in their wicked practices. For he who did not share with another what he had got by the miseries of others seemed only partially guilty, and he that did not go shares in such barbarity grieved at the loss, as at the loss of something valuable.

§ 5. It is however impossible to narrate in detail every instance of these men's lawlessness. I shall therefore say briefly, that neither did any other city ever suffer such miseries, nor did any age ever breed a generation more fruitful in wickedness from the beginning of the world; and at last they disparaged the Hebrew nation, that they might appear less impious to strangers, and confessed (what was indeed true) that they were slaves and the scum and base refuse of the nation. Indeed it was they that overthrew the city, and forced the Romans against their will to gain a melancholy reputation by their success, and all but drew that fire upon the temple, which they seemed to think came too slowly. And certainly, when they saw that temple burning from the upper city, they neither grieved at it nor wept, though these emotions were noticed among the Romans themselves. But these things I shall speak of hereafter in their proper place, when I come to treat of them.

CHAP. XI.

How the Jews were Crucified before the Walls of the City. Concerning Antiochus Epiphanes; and how the Jews overthrew the Earthworks that had been raised by the Romans.

§ 1.

AND now Titus' earthworks had made great progress, although his soldiers were much galled from the walls. He then sent a troop of horse, and ordered they should lay ambushes for those that went out into the valleys to get food. Some of these last were indeed fighting men, who were not contented with what they got by rapine, but most of them were poor people, who were deterred from deserting by the concern they were in for their relations; for they could not hope to escape with their wives and children without the knowledge of the seditious, nor could they think of leaving these relations to be slain by the robbers instead of themselves. It was the severity of the famine that made them thus bold in going out, though nothing remained for them, if they escaped the notice of the robbers, but capture by the enemy. And when they were going to be taken, they resisted from necessity for fear of punishment, and after they had fought they thought it too late to make any supplications for mercy. So they were first scourged, and then tormented with all sorts of tortures before they died, and were crucified opposite the walls of the city.[1] Their misery made Titus pity them, as every day five hundred Jews were taken, and sometimes more, but it did not appear to be safe for him to let those that were taken by force go their way, and to guard so many would be, he saw, to turn all his men into guards. But the main reason why he did not forbid these crucifixions was that he hoped the Jews might perhaps yield

[1] Reland very properly takes notice here, how justly this judgment came upon the Jews, when they were crucified in such multitudes together, that the Romans wanted room for the crosses, and crosses for the bodies of these Jews, since they had brought this judgment on themselves by the crucifixion of their Messiah.—W.

at that sight, from fear lest they might themselves afterwards suffer the same. So the soldiers, in their wrath and hatred to those they captured, nailed them in different ways to the crosses by way of jest, though their numbers were so great that room was wanting for the crosses, and crosses wanting for the bodies.

§ 2. But so far were the seditious from repenting at this sad sight, that, on the contrary, they tried to make the rest of the multitude believe the case was different. For they dragged the relations of those that had deserted upon the walls, as also such of the populace as were eager to go over upon the security offered them, and showed them what miseries those underwent who fled to the Romans; and told them that those who had been arrested [and crucified] by them were suppliants, and not prisoners taken after resistance. This kept many of those who were eager to desert within the city, till the truth was known. However, some ran away immediately as unto certain punishment, esteeming death from their enemies to be rest,[1] if compared with death by famine. So Titus commanded that the hands of many that were taken should be cut off, that they might not be thought deserters, and might be credited on account of this bad treatment, and sent them in to John and Simon, with this exhortation, that they would now at length cease fighting, and not force him to destroy the city, but by repentance even at the eleventh hour to preserve their own lives and city, and that temple which was their peculiar glory. He then went round the earthworks, and hastened on the workers at them at the same time, to show that his words would in no long time be followed by deeds. At this the seditious cast reproaches upon Titus himself and upon his father also, and cried out with a loud voice, that they despised death, and did well to prefer it to slavery; and that they would do all the mischief to the Romans they could, while they had breath in them; and as for their city, since they were, as he said, to be destroyed, they had no concern about it, and the world itself was a better temple to God than this. However, this temple would yet be preserved by him that dwelt therein, whom

[1] Or euthanasia.

they had for their helper in this war, and therefore laughed at all his threatenings, which would come to nothing, because the conclusion of the whole depended upon God only. These words they mixed with reproaches and loudly vociferated.

§ 3. Meantime Antiochus Epiphanes came to the city, having with him a considerable number of other armed men, and a band called the Macedonian band about his person, who were all of the same age, and tall, and just past their boyhood, and armed and trained in the Macedonian manner, from which circumstance they got their name, yet most of them were unworthy of so famous a nation. For it had so happened, that the king of Commagenè[1] had flourished more than any other kings that were under the power of the Romans, till he experienced a change in his condition; but when he became an old man, he was an instance that we ought not to call any man happy before his death. However, this son of his, who was now present when his father was still in his prime, said that he wondered what made the Romans so tardy to storm the wall. Now he was a warlike man, and naturally bold in exposing himself to dangers; he was also so strong a man that his boldness seldom failed of success. And though Titus smiled, and said "We will go shares in the labour," Antiochus went as he was, and with his Macedonians made a sudden assault upon the wall. And as for himself his strength and skill were so great that he kept off the Jewish darts, and yet shot his darts at them, while the young men with him were almost all sorely galled. For they had so great a regard to the vaunts that had been made of their courage, that they would needs persevere in fighting, and at last many of them retired wounded; and then they perceived that true Macedonians, if they were to be conquerors, must have Alexander's good fortune also.

§ 4. Now the Romans began to raise their earthworks on the twelfth day of the month Artemisius, and had much ado to finish them by the twenty-ninth day of the same month, after they had laboured hard for seventeen days continually. For there were now four great earthworks

[1] A district of which Samosata, *Samsât*, on the Euphrates, was the capital.

raised, one of which was at the tower of Antonia, which was raised by the fifth legion opposite the middle of the pool called Struthius.[1] Another was thrown up by the twelfth legion, at the distance of about twenty cubits from the other. But the labours of the tenth legion, which lay a great way off these, was on the north quarter at the pool called Amygdalon;[2] and that of the fifteenth legion was about thirty cubits from it at the high priest's tomb.[3] Now when the engines where brought up, John had from within already undermined the space that was opposite the tower of Antonia as far as the earthworks, and had propped up the ground over the mine with beams laid across one another, whereby the Roman works stood upon an insecure foundation. Then did he order such materials to be brought up as were daubed over with pitch and bitumen, and set them on fire; and as the cross-beams that propped up the earthworks burnt, all the mine suddenly subsided, and the earthworks fell in with a prodigious noise. Now at first there arose a very thick smoke and dust, as the fire was choked with the fall of the earthworks; but when the materials that pressed it down were gradually consumed, an evident flame broke out. On the sudden appearance of this flame consternation fell upon the Romans, and the cleverness of the contrivance dejected them; and indeed this happening to them at a time when they thought they had already gained their point, cooled their hopes for the time to come. They also thought it would be no good taking pains to extinguish the fire, since, even if it should be extinguished, the earthworks were swallowed up already.

§ 5. Two days after this Simon and his party made an attack upon the other earthworks; for the Romans had brought their battering-rams up there, and began already to make the wall shake. And here one Tephthæus of Garsis,[4] a city of Galilee, and Megassarus, one of queen Mariamne's servants, and with them the son of Nabatæus, from Adiabene,[5] who was called by the name of Chagiras

[1] Possibly the pool now known as the '*Souterrains*' of the Convent of the Sisters of Sion.

[2] Unknown; it must have been near the modern 'Hezekiah's Pool.'

[3] That is, John's tomb (see 9, § 2).

[4] An unknown town.

[5] Jewish War, ii. 19, § 1.

from the ill fortune he had, (the word signifying a lame man,) snatched some torches, and ran suddenly upon the engines. Nor were there during this war any men that ever sallied out of the city who were their superiors, either in boldness, or in the terror they struck into their enemies. For they ran out upon the Romans, not as if they were a band of enemies, but friends, without fear or delay: nor did they withdraw till they had rushed violently through the midst of them, and set their engines on fire. And though they had darts thrown at them on every side, and were on every side assaulted with the enemies' swords, yet they did not withdraw from the danger they were in, till the fire caught hold of the enemies' engines. And when the flame mounted up, the Romans came running from their camp to save their engines, but the Jews hindered them from the wall, and fought with those that endeavoured to quench the fire without any regard to the danger their own bodies were in. And the Romans tried to pull the battering-rams out of the fire, while the hurdles that covered them were on fire, but the Jews caught hold of the battering-rams through the flames and held them fast, although the iron upon them was now red-hot. And now the fire spread from the battering-rams to the earthworks, and prevented those that came to defend them; for the Romans were now surrounded with the flames, and despairing of saving their works from them retired to their camp. Then did the Jews flock up in ever increasing numbers, those that were within the city coming up to their assistance; and as they were flushed with victory their impetuosity carried everything before it, and they got as far as the fortifications of the enemies' camp, and fought with their guards. Now a body of soldiers relieved by turns always stands armed before every camp, and as to these the law of the Romans is terrible, that he who leaves his post, whatever the occasion be, must die. So this body of soldiers, preferring rather to die fighting courageously than as a punishment for their cowardice, stood their ground, and at the necessity these men were in of standing their ground, many of the others that had run away turned back again from shame. And when they had placed in position their engines for hurling darts against

the wall, they tried to prevent the multitude from flocking out of the city, who took no pains either to preserve their lives or guard their bodies; for the Jews fought with all they met, and without any caution rushed against the points of their enemies' spears, and dashed against them with their very bodies, and now overpowered the Romans, not so much by their actions, as by their courage, for the Romans gave way to their boldness more than because they were much hurt.

§ 6. And now Titus came up from the Tower of Antonia, where he had gone to look out for a place for throwing up other earthworks: and he reproached the soldiers greatly for permitting their own camp to be in danger, when they had carried two of the walls of their enemies, and for sustaining themselves the fortune of men besieged, and for allowing the Jews to sally out against them, though they were in a sort of prison. He then made a *détour* with some chosen troops, and fell upon the enemies' flank in person. And the Jews, though they were attacked in front as well, wheeled round and fought stoutly against Titus. And when the armies were now engaged, the dust that was raised so hindered them from seeing one another, and the noise that was made so hindered them from hearing one another, that neither side could any longer discern foe from friend. And the Jews did not flinch, though not so much from their real strength, as from their despair of safety, and the Romans were nerved by the regard they had to their glory and reputation in war, and because Titus himself led them into danger; so that I think the Romans would eventually have overpowered the whole of the Jews, so enraged were they, had not these anticipated the upshot of the battle, and retired into the city. However, as their earthworks were done for, the Romans were very dejected at the loss in one hour of what had cost them such pains: Indeed many despaired of taking the city with the usual engines of war.

CHAP. XII.

Titus determines to surround the City with a Wall; after which the Famine consumes the People by whole Houses and Families.

§ 1.

AND now Titus consulted with his commanders what was to be done. Those that were the most sanguine thought he should lead up the whole army against the city and storm the wall; for hitherto the Jews had fought with only a fragment of their army, but if the entire army were to attack *en masse*, the Jews would not be able to bear their attack, but would be overwhelmed by their darts. But of those that were more cautious some were for constructing earthworks again, and others advised without these to sit before the city, to prevent the coming out of the Jews and the introduction of provisions, and so to leave the enemy to famine, without direct fighting with them; for despair made men invincible, who hoped to die by the sword, because a more terrible end was reserved for them. However, Titus did not think it right for so great an army to be entirely idle, though he felt that it was unnecessary to fight against those who would be destroyed by one another; he also showed them how difficult it was to throw up any more earthworks, for want of material, and still more difficult to prevent the Jews making sallies. Nor was it easy to surround the whole city with his army, because of its size and the difficult ground, and it was also dangerous because of the sallies the Jews might make from the city; for although they might guard the known outlets from the place, yet the Jews could contrive secret passages out in their necessity, and from knowledge of such places; and if any provisions were carried in by stealth, the siege would thereby be longer protracted. He also owned that he was afraid that the length of time thus spent would diminish the glory of his success; for though it was true that length of time would perfect every thing, yet celerity was necessary for gaining reputation. His opinion therefore was, that if they aimed at

celerity joined with safety, they must build a wall round about the whole city; for that was, he thought, the only way to prevent the Jews from coming out any way, and then they would either entirely despair of saving the city, and so would surrender it up to him, or they would be the more easily conquered when the famine had further weakened them. Nor did he intend to be entirely idle in other respects, but would take care to raise earthworks again, when their enemies had become weaker. And if any one should think such a work great and hard to accomplish, he ought to consider that it was not fit for Romans to undertake any small work, and that none but God himself could with ease accomplish any great thing.

§ 2. These arguments prevailed with the commanders. So Titus gave orders that the army should be distributed to their several shares of this work. And indeed there now came upon the soldiers a certain divine fury, so that in the division of the whole wall that was to be built among them, not only did one legion vie with another, but the lesser divisions of the army did the same; so that each soldier was ambitious to please his decurion, each decurion his centurion, each centurion his tribune, and the ambition of the tribunes was to please their superior commanders. And Titus himself took notice of and rewarded the like friendly rivalry in those commanders; for he went round about the works many times every day, and reconnoitered what was done. He began the wall at the camp of the Assyrians, where his own camp was pitched, and extended it to the lower parts of Cœnopolis, from whence it went along Cedron to the Mount of Olives; it then turned off to the south, and encompassed the mount as far as the rock called Peristereon, and the hill next it which lies opposite the ravine near Siloam; whence it turned off again to the west, and went down to the ravine of the Fountain. After this it went up again to the tomb of Ananus the high priest, and taking in the mountain where Pompey had formerly pitched his camp, it returned back to the north side of the city, and extended as far as a certain village called the House of the Erebinthi; after which it took in Herod's tomb, and then on the east joined Titus' own camp

again, where it began.[1] Now the length of this wall was thirty-nine furlongs, and on the outside of it were erected thirteen forts, whose circumferences amounted to ten furlongs. And the whole work was completed in three days, so that what would have been adequate work for some months, was done in so short a time as is almost incredible. And as soon as Titus had surrounded the city with this wall, and put men into these forts, he went round the wall at the first watch of the night, and observed how the guard was kept; the second watch he allotted to Alexander; and the commanders of legions took the third watch. They also cast lots among themselves who should be upon the watch in the night, and who should go all night long round the spaces that were between the forts.

§ 3. So all hope of safety was now cut off from the Jews, as also their liberty of going out of the city. And famine increased its dimensions, and devoured the people by whole houses and families; the roofs were full of women and children that were dying of starvation, and the lanes of the city were full of dead bodies of the aged; the children also and the young men wandered about the market-places like shadows, all wasted away with famine, and fell down dead, wherever death seized them. As for burying their relations, those that were sick themselves were not able to do it, and those that were hearty and well were deterred from doing it by the great quantity of those dead bodies, and by the uncertainty of their own life; for many died as they were burying others, and many went to their coffins before the fatal hour was come. Nor was there any lamentation made in these calamities, nor was any wailing heard, but the famine stifled all natural emotions. For those who were just going to die looked upon those that were gone to their rest before them with dry eyes and smiling mouths, and a deep silence and kind of deadly night had seized upon the city. But the robbers were still more terrible than these miseries were, for they broke into houses which were little else than graves of dead bodies, and plundered the dead, and stripped off the coverings of

[1] Very few of the points on Titus' wall of circumvallation have been accurately identified; but its course within certain limits can be readily laid down upon a map of Jerusalem.

their bodies, and went away laughing, and tested the points of their swords in their dead bodies, and in order to prove what metal they were made of, thrust some of those through that still lay alive upon the ground. As for those that entreated them to lend them their right hand and sword to despatch them, they contemptuously refused, and left them to perish by famine. Now every one of these as he died fixed his eyes earnestly upon the temple, at the idea of leaving the seditious alive behind him. And they at first gave orders that the dead should be buried out of the public treasury, not being able to endure the stench of their dead bodies. But afterwards, when they could not do that, they had them cast down from the walls into the ravines below.

§ 4. Now when Titus, going his rounds along these ravines, saw them full of dead bodies, and observed the thick matter running from these clammy corpses, he groaned and spread out his hands to heaven, and called God to witness that this was not his doing. Such was the sad state of affairs in the city. But the Romans were very joyful, because none of the seditious could now make sallies out of the city, for they were now dejected, and the famine already touched them; but the Romans had quantity of corn and other necessaries from Syria and the neighbouring provinces; and many of them would stand near the wall of the city, and show the people what great quantities of provisions they had, and so make the enemy more sensible of their famine from the great plenty even to satiety which they themselves had. However, as the seditious showed no signs of yielding in spite of famine, Titus pitying the people that remained, and earnestly desiring to rescue those that were still left, began to raise earthworks again, although material for them was hard to come at; for all the trees that were about the city had been already cut down for the making of the former earthworks. But the soldiers brought other material from a distance of ninety furlongs, and raised earthworks much bigger than the former at four places, though only near the tower of Antonia. And Titus went his rounds through the legions, and hastened on the work, and showed the robbers that they were now in his hands. But these men only were incapable

of repenting of the wickedness they had been guilty of, and, separating their souls from their bodies, they used them both as if they belonged to other people. For no gentle affection could touch their souls, nor could any pain affect their bodies, since they still tore the dead bodies of the people as dogs do, and filled the prisons with those that were feeble.

CHAP. XIII.

The great Slaughter and Sacrilege that went on in Jerusalem.

§ 1.

SIMON would not even suffer Matthias, by whose aid he got possession of the city, to die without being tortured. This Matthias was the son of Boethus, and was descended from high priests, and was one that had been very faithful to the people, and was held in great esteem by them; and it was he, when the multitude were distressed by the Zealots, to whom John had already attached himself, who urged the people to admit this Simon to come in to assist them, though he had made no conditions with him, nor expected any thing that was evil from him. But when Simon had come in, and had got the city in his power, he esteemed him that had advised them to admit him as much his enemy as the rest, looking upon that advice as a piece of simplicity. So he had him brought at once before him, and condemned him to death for being on the side of the Romans, without giving him leave to make his defence, and passed the same sentence upon three of his sons, for the fourth had already fled to Titus. And when he begged as a favour that he might be slain before his sons, because he had got the gates of the city opened to him, Simon gave orders that he should be slain the last of all. So he was not slain till he had seen his sons slain before his eyes, and was himself led out to execution opposite the Romans; for such was the charge given by Simon to Ananus, the son of Bamadus, who was the most barbarous of all his body-guards. Simon also jeered at him,

and told him that he might now see whether those to whom he had intended to go over, would send him any succour or not. He also forbade their dead bodies being buried. After them a certain priest Ananias, the son of Masambalus, a person of eminence, and Aristeus, the scribe of the sanhedrim, a native of Emmaus,[1] and with them fifteen men of note among the people, were slain. They also shut Josephus' father in prison, and kept him there, and made public proclamation that no citizens should associate or assemble together, for fear of treason, and also slew without trial all that lamented this dreadful state of affairs.

§ 2. Now when Judes, the son of Judes, who was one of Simon's under-officers, and a person entrusted by him to guard one of the towers, saw this conduct of Simon, he called together ten of those under him, that were most faithful to him (partly perhaps from pity to those that had so barbarously been put to death, but mainly to provide for his own safety), and spoke to them as follows. "How long shall we bear these miseries? or what hopes have we of safety by continuing faithful to such a wicked wretch? Is not the famine already come against us, and are not the Romans almost within the city, and is not Simon unfaithful to his benefactors, and is there not reason to fear he will very soon bring us too to the like punishment, while the security the Romans offer us is sure? Come then, let us surrender the wall, and save ourselves and the city. Nor will Simon be very much hurt, if, since he despairs of deliverance, he be brought to justice a little sooner than he expects." Now, these ten were prevailed upon by these arguments, and Judes sent at daybreak the rest of those that were under him, some one way, some another, that no discovery might be made of what they had resolved upon, and himself invited the Romans from his tower about the third hour. But some of them treated what he said disdainfully, and others of them did not believe him to be in earnest, but most postponed action because they believed they would get possession of the city in a little time without any hazard. But when Titus

[1] Emmaus-Nicopolis, *Amwâs*. Jewish War, i. 11, § 2.

was just coming up with his armed men, Simon saw the state of affairs before he came, and quickly occupied the tower, and seized upon these men, and put them to death in the sight of the Romans, and when he had mangled their dead bodies, threw them down before the wall of the city.

§ 3. Meantime, as Josephus was going round the city, for he did not cease exhorting the Jews, he was wounded on the head by a stone that was thrown at him; upon which he fell down at once, being stunned. At this fall of his the Jews made a sally, and he would have been dragged into the city, had not Titus quickly sent men to protect him. And while these men were fighting, Josephus was taken up, though he knew little of what had happened. And the seditious supposed they had now slain that man whom they most desired to kill, and raised thereupon a great shout by way of rejoicing. News of this spread about the city, and the multitude that remained were very dejected at the news, believing that he, on whose account alone they could venture to desert to the Romans, was really dead. And when Josephus' mother heard in prison that her son was dead, she said to her jailors that she had always been of opinion, since the siege of Jotapata,[1] that she would never enjoy him alive again. She also made great lamentation privately to the maid-servants that were about her, and said that this was the advantage she had had of bringing so extraordinary a person as this into the world, that she should not be able even to bury him by whom she expected to have been buried herself. However, this false report did not long put his mother to pain, nor afford joy to the robbers. For Josephus soon recovered of his wound, and came forward, and cried aloud, that it should not be long before they should be punished for this wound they had given him. He also again besought the people to trust in him. This sight of Josephus encouraged the people greatly, and brought great consternation upon the seditious.

§ 4. Now some of the deserters, having no other means, leaped down from the wall quickly, and others went out

[1] *Jefat.* Jewish War, iii. 20, § 6.

of the city with stones as if to battle, but soon fled to the Romans. But a worse fate soon came upon these, than what they would have found within the city, and they met with a quicker despatch from the too great abundance they had among the Romans, than they could have done from famine among the Jews. For when they first came to the Romans, they were puffed up by famine, and swollen like men in a dropsy; after which they all over-filled those bodies that were before empty, and so burst asunder, excepting such only as were prudent enough to restrain their appetites, and took food by degrees into bodies unaccustomed to it. And another trouble came to those who were thus preserved; for among the Syrians a certain deserter was detected picking pieces of gold out of his excrements. For the deserters used to swallow their gold, as I said before, when they came out, as the seditious searched them all (for there was a great quantity of gold in the city; insomuch that as much was now purchasable for twelve Attic drachmæ as was sold before for twenty-five). But when this contrivance was discovered in one instance, the rumour spread about the camp, that deserters came full of gold. So the multitude of Arabians and Syrians ripped up those that came as suppliants, and searched their bellies. Nor does it seem to me that any misery more terrible than this befell the Jews, for in one night about two thousand of these deserters were thus ripped up.

§ 5. When Titus heard of this lawless conduct, he was within an ace of surrounding those that had been guilty of it with his cavalry, and shooting them dead; and would have done so, had not so great a number been involved in it, for those that were liable to punishment would have been many times more than those whom they had slain. However, he called together the commanders of the allies and of his own legions (for some of his own soldiers were also accused of the same conduct), and was very indignant against both. "What? (said he) have any of my own soldiers done such things as this for uncertain gain, without respecting their own weapons, which are made of silver and gold? Moreover, do the Arabians and Syrians now first begin to indulge their passions as they please in a

foreign war, and then get their barbarity in murdering men and hatred to the Jews ascribed to the Romans?" For this infamous practice was said to have spread among some of his own soldiers also. Titus next threatened to put to death any one who should dare to act so again if detected; moreover, he charged the legions, that they should make a search for such as were suspected of such conduct, and should bring them before him. But it appeared that the love of money overcame all their dread of punishment, for a vehement desire for gain is innate in men, and no passion is so venturesome as covetousness; though such passions have generally certain bounds, and are subordinate to fear. But in this case God condemned the whole nation, and turned to their destruction every step that was taken for their safety. What therefore was forbidden by Titus on pain of death was ventured upon privately against the deserters. For these barbarians would go out still, and meet those that ran away before they were themselves descried, and looking about to see that no Romans spied them, would rip them up, and pull this impure money out of their bowels; which was only found in a few of them, though a great many were killed from the bare hope of getting it. Now this miserable treatment made many deserters return back again to the city.

§ 6. As for John, when he could no longer plunder the people, he betook himself to sacrilege, and melted down many of the votive offerings in the temple, as also many of the vessels which were necessary for divine service, as the bowls, the dishes, and the tables. Nay, he did not keep his hands off those ewers that had been sent by Augustus and his wife. For the Roman emperors did ever both honour and adorn our temple; whereas this man, who was a Jew, seized upon what were the donations of foreigners, and said to his friends that they might use divine things without fear, as they were fighting for the deity, and that those who were fighting for the temple might live on the temple. So he emptied the vessels of the sacred wine and oil, which the priests kept to pour on the burnt-offerings, and which lay in the inner part of the temple, and distributed it among the multitude, and they

without fear used above a hin each in their anointing and drinking. And here I cannot but speak my mind, and state what the concern I am in dictates to me. I suppose, had the Romans made any longer delay in coming against these wretches, that the city would either have been swallowed up by the ground opening, or been deluged by water, or else been destroyed by such lightning as the inhabitants of Sodom perished by, for it had brought forth a generation of men much more impious than those were who suffered those punishments. At any rate it was by their madness that all the people came to be destroyed.

§ 7. But why need I relate particular calamities? Why, Maunæus, the son of Lazarus, fled to Titus at this very time, and told him that there had been carried out, through that one gate that was entrusted to his care, no less than a hundred and fifteen thousand eight hundred and eighty dead bodies, in the interval between the fourteenth day of the month Xanthicus, when the Romans pitched their camp by the city, and the first day of the month Panemus. This was an immense multitude. And though this man was not himself set over the duty of carrying these bodies out, yet he was appointed to pay the public stipend for carrying these bodies out, and so of necessity numbered them. And the rest were buried by their relations; though all their burial was to take them away, and cast them out of the city. After him many of the eminent citizens fled to Titus, and told him the entire number of the poor that were dead was no less than six hundred thousand who were thrown out at the gates, and that the number of the rest could not be discovered. They told him further, that when they were no longer able to carry out the dead bodies of the poor, they laid their corpses on heaps in very large houses, and shut them up therein; as also, that a measure of wheat was sold for a talent, and that afterwards, when it was not possible to gather herbs because the city was all walled in, some persons were driven to such terrible distress that they searched the common sewers and old dunghills of cattle, and ate the dung which they got there; and what of old they could not endure so much as to look at, they now used for food. When the

although the Romans had great trouble in getting together material, they raised their earthworks in one and twenty days, after they had cut down all the trees that were in the country near the city, and that for ninety furlongs round about, as I have already related. And truly the very appearance of the land was a melancholy sight; for those places which were before adorned with trees and gardens, were now become desolate country everywhere, and stripped of all their trees. Nor could any foreigner that had formerly seen Judæa and the most beautiful suburbs of the city, and now saw a desert, but lament and mourn sadly at so great a change. For the war had played havoc with every sign of beauty, nor had any one, that had known the place before, come on a sudden to it now, would he have known it again, but though he were at the city, he would have inquired for it.

§ 2. And now that the earthworks were finished, they afforded grounds for fear both to the Romans and to the Jews. For the Jews expected that the city would be taken, unless they could burn these earthworks, and the Romans expected that, if these were once destroyed, they should never be able to take it. For there was a great scarcity of material, and the bodies of the soldiers began to faint under such hard labours, as their souls were dispirited at so many reverses one upon another; and the very sufferings of those in the city proved a greater discouragement to the Romans than to those within it. For they found the fighting men of the Jews to be no less energetic for their sore afflictions, while they had themselves perpetually less and less hope of success, as their earthworks were forced to yield to the stratagems of the enemy, their engines to the hardness of their wall, and their hand to hand fights to the boldness of their attack. And what was the greatest discouragement of all, they found the Jews' courage of soul to be superior to such great evils as they were suffering from, as their sedition, their famine, and the war itself; so that they imagined that the violence of their attacks was invincible, and that the spirit they showed would never be cowed by their calamities; and what would not those be able to bear, if they should be fortunate, who turned their very misfortunes to courage? These considerations made the Romans

Romans heard this, they felt great pity, but the seditious, who saw it, did not repent, but suffered the same distress to come upon themselves. For they were blinded by the fate which was already coming upon the city and upon themselves.

BOOK VI.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT ONE MONTH.—FROM THE GREAT EXTREMITY TO WHICH THE JEWS WERE REDUCED, TO THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS.

CHAP. I.

How the Miseries of the Jews still grew worse; and how the Romans made an Assault upon the Tower of Antonia.

§ 1.

THUS did the miseries of Jerusalem grow worse and worse every day, and the seditious were still more irritated by the calamities they suffered, for the famine finally preyed upon them after it had preyed upon the people. Indeed the multitude of carcasses that lay in heaps one upon another throughout the city was a horrible sight, and produced a pestilential stench, and was an hindrance to those that wanted to make sallies out of the city and fight the enemy. For they were obliged, as men that had in battle been initiated in ten thousand murders, to tread upon those dead bodies as they marched along; but they did not shudder, nor did they pity the poor men as they marched over them, nor did they deem this affront offered to the dead an ill omen to themselves; but with their right hands already polluted with the murder of their fellow-countrymen, they ran out to fight with foreigners, casting a reproach (as it seems to me) on the deity for slowness in punishing them; for the war was now gone on with, not as if they had any hope of victory, but were nerved by the energy of despair. And

keep a stronger guard about their earthworks than they had formerly done.

§ 3. And now John and his party in the tower of Antonia took care for securing themselves afterwards, even if their last wall should be thrown down, and set about attacking the Roman earthworks before the battering-rams were placed in position upon them. But their attempt did not succeed, for though they went out with torches, they came back under great discouragement before they got near the earthworks. For first their plan did not seem to be unanimous, but they went out in distinct parties and at distinct intervals, and in a slow and timorous manner, and, to say all in a word, not like Jews. For they were now defective in what is peculiar to our nation, that is, boldness and impetuosity, and rushing upon the enemy *en masse*, and returning without serious reverse. For they now went out in a more languid manner than usual, and found the Romans drawn up in battle array, and more courageous than usual. And they guarded their earthworks both with their bodies and their entire armour on all sides, so that they left no room for the fire to get among them, and each one nerved up his soul rather to die than leave their ranks. For besides that all their hopes were cut off, if these works were once burnt, the soldiers were greatly ashamed that craft should prevail over courage, desperation over armour, numbers over experience, and Jews over Romans. The Romans had now also another advantage, in that their engines for throwing darts and stones reached the Jews as they were rushing out of the city, and when any one fell he got in the way of the one that was next, and the danger of going further made them less zealous. As for those that had run within shot, some of them were terrified at the good order and closeness of the enemies' ranks before they came to a close fight, and others were pricked by their spears, and turned back again; and at last they reproached one another for their cowardice, and retired without doing any thing. This sortie was made upon the first day of the month Panemus. And when the Jews retired, the Romans brought up their battering-rams, although they had all the while stones thrown at them from the tower of Antonia, and were assaulted by fire and

sword, and by all sorts of missiles which necessity supplied the Jews with. For though they had great reliance on their own wall, and a contempt of the Roman battering-rams, yet did they endeavour to hinder the Romans from bringing them up. The Romans struggled hard, on the contrary, to bring them up, as they thought that this zeal of the Jews was to prevent any harm being done to the tower of Antonia, because its wall was but weak, and its foundations they hoped rotten. However, that tower did not yield to the blows given it by the battering-rams, but the Romans bore up against the enemies' darts, which were perpetually cast at them from above, and did not succumb to their dangers, but brought their battering-rams into play. And as they were beneath the Jews, and sadly wounded by the stones thrown down upon them, some of them placed their shields over their bodies,[1] and partly with their hands, partly with crowbars, undermined its foundations, and with great trouble removed four of its stones. And night put an end on both sides to this struggle. However, that night the wall, that had been shaken by the battering-rams where John had ingeniously undermined the previous earthworks, as the ground gave way, fell down suddenly.

§ 4. When this event unexpectedly happened, the minds of both parties were encouraged. For though one would have expected that the Jews would be dejected, as this fall of their wall was unexpected by them, and they had made no provision to meet the case, yet were they full of confidence because the tower of Antonia was still standing; and the unexpected joy of the Romans at this fall of the wall was soon quenched by the sight they had of another wall, which John and his party had built inside the other wall. However, to attack this second wall appeared less difficult than the storming of the former wall, because it seemed easier to get up to it through the breach in the former wall. This new wall appeared also to be much weaker than the tower of Antonia, and the Romans imagined that they should soon overthrow it, because it had been only a temporary erection. However, nobody

[1] In testudo (or tortoise) fashion.

ventured to go up to this wall; for it was evident death to such as led the forlorn hope.

§ 5. And now Titus, considering that the alacrity of soldiers in war is chiefly excited by hope and argument, and that exhortations and promises frequently make men forget the hazards they run, nay, sometimes despise death itself, got together the most courageous part of his army, and tried to work on his men by the following speech. "Fellow-soldiers, to exhort men to do what has no peril in it, is merely inglorious to those to whom the exhortation is made, and in him that makes the exhortation suggests cowardice. I therefore think that such exhortations ought only to be made use of when affairs are in a critical condition, and yet worthy of being attempted by every one. I grant you that it is a difficult task to scale this wall; but I shall proceed to show that it is proper for those that desire reputation for valour to cope with difficulties, and that it is a noble thing to die with glory, and that the courage of those who take the initiative shall not go unrewarded. And let my first argument to urge you on be taken from what probably some would think likely to deter you, I mean the constancy and patience of these Jews in spite of their reverses. For it is unbecoming in you, who are Romans and my soldiers, who have been taught in peace how to make war, and who have also been used to conquer in war, to be inferior to Jews either in hand or soul, especially as you are near final victory, and are assisted by God. For our reverses have been owing to the desperation of the Jews, while their sufferings are intensified by your valour and the assistance of God. For what can their internal dissensions, and the famine and siege, and the fall of their wall without our engines, signify but God's anger against them, and his assistance of us? It will not therefore be proper for you, either to show yourselves inferior to those to whom you are really superior, or to betray the divine assistance which is afforded you. And how can it be esteemed other than disgraceful that, while the Jews, who need not be much ashamed if they be defeated, because they have long learned to be slaves, do yet despise death that they may be so no longer, and make sallies into the midst of us frequently, not in hopes of conquering us,

but merely as a bare demonstration of their courage; yet we, who have conquered almost every land and sea, to whom it will be a great disgrace if we are not victorious, do not once run any risk against our enemies, but with such arms as we have sit still and inactive, and only wait till famine and fortune do their work against them, and that though we have it in our power, with some small risk, to gain all that we desire? For if we get up to the tower of Antonia, we gain the city. For if there should be any more occasion for fighting against those within the city, which I do not suppose there will be, yet our being then upon the top of the hill,[1] and being upon the enemy before they can take breath, promises us a complete victory. As for myself, I shall at present waive any commendation of those who die in war,[2] and omit to speak of the immortality of those men who are slain in the midst of their martial bravery, yet I cannot forbear to pray for those who are of a different temper that they may die of disease in time of peace, and their souls be condemned to the grave together with their bodies. For who does not know that the souls of good men which are severed from the flesh in battle by the sword are received by the ether, that purest of elements, and placed among the stars, and manifest themselves as good genii and heroes propitious to their posterity; whereas upon those souls that waste away in diseased bodies, notwithstanding they be mostly clean from spots and defilements, comes a subterraneous night to dissolve them to nothing, and a deep oblivion to take away all remembrance of them, so that in their case the soul at the same time comes to the termination of its life and body and memory? But since death is of necessity fated to all men, and a sword is an easier instrument of it than any disease, how is it not a very mean thing for us not to yield up to the public benefit what we must yield up

[1] Reland notes here, very pertinently, that the tower of Antonia stood higher than the floor of the temple or court adjoining to it; and that accordingly they descended thence into the temple, as Josephus elsewhere speaks also. See vi. 2, § 5.—W.

[2] In this speech of Titus we may clearly see the notions which the Romans then had of death, and of the happy state of those who died bravely in war, and the contrary estate of those who died ignobly in their beds by sickness.—W.

to fate? I have said all this upon the supposition that those who first attempt to scale this wall must needs be killed, although men of true courage have a chance to escape even in the most hazardous undertakings. For first, that part of the former wall that is thrown down is easy to ascend; in the next place everything that is built is easily destroyed. As for the rest of you, pluck up your courage, and set about the work, and mutually encourage and assist one another, for your daring will soon cow the spirit of your enemies. And perhaps your glorious undertaking may be accomplished successfully without bloodshed. For although it is probable that the Jews will try to hinder your scaling the wall, yet if you once steal a march on them and storm their wall, they will not be able to withstand you any longer, though only a few of you get the start of them. As for that person who first mounts the wall, I should be ashamed if I did not make him envied by others for the rewards I should bestow upon him. If such a one escapes with his life, he shall have the command of others that are now only his equals, but the happiest rewards will be theirs who fall in the attempt."

§ 6. At this speech of Titus, the rest of the soldiers were frightened at so great a danger: but one whose name was Sabinus, a soldier that served among the cohorts, and was a Syrian by birth, showed himself very brave, both in hand and soul, though any one would have thought at first sight from his habit of body that he was not fit to be a soldier. For his colour was black, and he was lean, and his flesh lay close together, but an heroic soul dwelt in this lean body, and one far more noble [1] than his strength. And he was the first that rose up, and spoke as follows. "I readily offer myself to thee, Prince. I will first ascend the wall, and I pray that thy fortune may follow my strength and resolution. And if some Nemesis is on my undertaking, take notice that my ill success will not be unexpected, but that I choose death voluntarily for thy sake." When he had said this, he held his shield over his head with his left hand, and with his right hand drew his sword, and marched up to the wall, just about the sixth hour of the day. There

[1] I read γενναιότερα.

followed him only eleven others, who resolved to imitate his bravery: but he went a long way ahead of them all, as if possessed by a divine fury. Now those that guarded the wall shot at them from thence, and threw innumerable darts upon them from every side; they also rolled very huge stones upon them, which knocked down some of the eleven that were with him. As for Sabinus himself, he faced the darts that were thrown at him, and though he was deluged by them, he did not relax his ardour before he had got up on the top of the wall, and put the enemy to flight. For as the Jews were dismayed at his strength and bravery, and as they also imagined more persons had got upon the wall than really had, they fled. And here one cannot but complain of fortune as envious of virtue, and ever hindering the performance of glorious achievements; for this hero, when he had all but attained his purpose, stumbled at a certain large stone, and fell down upon it headlong with a very great noise. Upon this the Jews turned back, and when they saw that he was alone, and had fallen down also, they showered darts at him from all sides. However, he leaned upon his knee, and covered himself with his shield, and at first defended himself against them, and wounded many of those that came near him; but he was soon forced to relax his right hand, from the number of wounds that had been given him, and at last he was quite deluged with darts before he gave up the ghost. He was a man who deserved a better fate because of his bravery, but he fell as might be expected in so great an attempt. As for the remaining eleven, the Jews crushed three of them to death with stones, when they had already got up to the top of the wall; the other eight, who were knocked down and wounded, were carried back to the camp. This happened on the third day of the month Panemus.

§ 7. Now two days afterwards twenty of the men that were in the front, and kept guard at the earthworks, got together, and called to them the standard-bearer of the fifth legion, and two others of a troop of horse, and one trumpeter, and marched without noise about the ninth hour of the night through the breach in the wall to the tower of Antonia; and when they had cut the throats of

the first guards of the place they met, as they were asleep, they occupied the wall, and ordered the trumpeter to sound his trumpet. Upon this the rest of the guards rose up suddenly and ran away, before any body could see how many had scaled the wall; for, partly from the fear they were in, and partly from the sound of the trumpet which they heard, they imagined that the enemy had scaled the wall *en masse*. But as soon as Titus heard the trumpet, he ordered the army to put on their armour quickly, and went there with his commanders, and ascended first of all with the picked men that were with him. And as the Jews fled towards the temple, they rushed into the mine which John had dug under the Roman earthworks. Then the seditious of both sections of the Jews, as well those of John's as those of Simon's party, formed themselves into two masses, and tried to keep the Romans back, and indeed fought with the greatest of energy and vigour; for they esteemed themselves entirely ruined if once the Romans got into the temple, and the Romans looked upon the same thing as the beginning of entire conquest. So a terrible battle was fought at the entrance of the temple, for the Romans tried to force their way in to get possession of the temple, and the Jews tried to drive them back to the tower of Antonia. In this battle the darts were on both sides useless, as well as the spears, so both armies drew their swords, and fought it out hand to hand, and during this struggle the positions of the men were indistinguishable on both sides, and they fought at random, the men being intermixed with one another, and jumbled together because of the narrowness of space; while the shouts of the combatants fell on the ear in an indistinct manner because they were so loud. And great slaughter was now made on both sides, and the combatants trod upon the bodies and armour of those that had fallen, and crushed them to pieces. And to which ever side the battle inclined, those that were victorious encouraged one another, and those that were beaten made great lamentation; but there was no room for flight or pursuit, but doubtful phases and changes succeeded one another, as the armies were intermixed. And those that were in the front ranks were under the necessity of killing or being killed, without any

chance of escape; for those on both sides that were behind forced those before them to go on, without leaving any space between the armies. But as the Jews' ardour was too much for the Romans' skill, and the whole Roman line was beginning already to give way (for the fight had lasted from the ninth hour of the night till the seventh hour of the day), and the Jews came on *en masse*, and had the danger of capture as an incitement to valour, whereas the Romans had here only a part of their army (for those legions on which their soldiers relied had not yet come up) it was thought by the Romans sufficient at present to occupy the tower of Antonia.

§ 8. But one Julian, a centurion that came from Bithynia,[1] a man of great reputation, and the most excellent of all whom I observed in the war for skill in arms, strength of body, and courage of soul, seeing the Romans giving ground and making a feeble defence (for he stood near Titus at the tower of Antonia), rushed forward and himself alone put the Jews to flight, when they were already conquerors, and made them retire as far as the corner of the inner part of the temple. For the Jews fled from him *en masse*, supposing that neither his strength nor daring could be those of a mere man. And he rushed through the midst of the Jews, as they all fled pell mell, some in one direction some in another, and killed those that he came up with; nor, indeed, was there any sight that appeared more wonderful in the eyes of Titus, or more terrible to the others, than this. However, he was himself pursued by fate, which it was not possible for him, who was but a mortal man, to escape; for as he had shoes full of thick and sharp nails, as had every one of the other soldiers, while he was running on the pavement of the temple, he slipped, and fell down upon his back with a very great noise, which was made by his armour. This made those that were running away turn back; whereupon those Romans that were in the tower of Antonia set up a great shout, as they were in fear for the man, but the Jews crowded round him *en masse*, and struck at him with their spears and swords on all sides. And he received a great many of the strokes of

[1] A province in the north-west of Asia Minor. Jewish War, i. 12, § 4.

these iron weapons on his shield, and often attempted to get up, but was kept down by those that struck at him; yet did he, as he lay on the ground, stab many with his sword. Nor was he soon killed, as he was covered with his helmet and breastplate in all those parts of his body where he could be mortally wounded; he also pulled his neck close to his body, till all his other limbs being hacked about, and nobody daring to come to defend him, he yielded to his fate. Now Titus was deeply affected at this man of such great bravery being killed in the sight of so many people: and wished himself to come to his assistance, but the place gave him no chance, and such as might have done so were too much terrified to attempt it. So, when Julian had struggled with death a great while, and had let but few of those that had given him his mortal wounds go off unhurt, he at last had his throat cut, though not without difficulty, and left behind him a very great fame, not only with the Romans and Titus himself, but with his enemies also. But the Jews snatched up his dead body, and put the Romans to flight again, and shut them up in the tower of Antonia. Now those that most distinguished themselves, and fought most bravely in this battle on the Jewish side, were one Alexas and Gyphthæus of John's party, and of Simon's party Malachias and Judas the son of Merto, and James the son of Sosas, the commander of the Idumæans; and of the Zealots two brothers, Simon and Judes, the sons of Arus.

CHAP. II.

How Titus gave Orders to demolish the Tower of Antonia, and commanded Josephus to urge the Jews again to surrender.

§ 1.

AND now Titus gave orders to his soldiers that were with him to rase to the ground the foundations of the tower of Antonia, and make an easy ascent for all his army; and himself had Josephus brought to him (for he had been informed that on that very day, which was the

seventeenth day of Panemus,[1] the sacrifice called the continual sacrifice had not been offered to God for want of men to offer it, and that the people were grievously dejected at this), and commanded him to say the same things to John that he had said before, namely, that if he had any evil inclination for fighting, he might come out to fight with as many men as he pleased, without destroying either city or temple; but he desired he would not any longer defile the temple, nor offend against God. He added that the sacrifices which had been discontinued might be offered up by any of the Jews whom he should choose. And Josephus stood in a place where he might be heard, not by John only, but by many more, and then gave them the message of Titus in the Hebrew language, and earnestly prayed them to spare their city, and to prevent that fire which was just ready to seize upon the sanctuary, and to offer their usual sacrifices to God therein. At these words of his a great sadness and silence were observed among the people, but the tyrant[2] cast many reproaches and imprecations upon Josephus, and at last added that he did not fear the taking of the city, because it was God's own city. Then Josephus cried out with a loud voice, "Certainly you have kept this city pure for God! the sanctuary also continues unpolluted! Nor have you been guilty of any impiety against him for whose assistance you hope! He still receives the accustomed sacrifices! Vilest wretch, if any one should deprive you of your daily food, you would esteem him an enemy, yet do you hope to have for your supporter in this war that God whom you have deprived of his everlasting worship? And do you impute your sins to the Romans, who to this very time take care to have our laws observed, and almost compel those sacrifices to be still offered to God, which have by you been intermitted? Who is there that would not groan and lament at the amazing change in regard to this city, that foreigners and enemies do now

[1] This was a remarkable day indeed, the 17th of Panemus, A.D. 70, when, according to Daniel's prediction, 606 years before, the Romans "in half a week caused the sacrifice and oblation to cease." Dan. ix. 27. For from the month of February, A.D. 66, about which time Vespasian entered on this war, to this very time, was just three years and a half.—W.

[2] John of Gischala is meant. Cf. §§ 5, 6.

correct your impiety, while you, who are a Jew, and were educated in our laws, are become a bitterer enemy to them than they are? But, John, it is never dishonourable to repent, and turn from what is bad, even at the last extremity, and you have a good example before you, if you desire to save the city, in Jechoniah, the king of the Jews, who, when the king of Babylon made war against him in old days, did of his own accord go out of the city before it was taken, and did undergo a voluntary captivity with his family, that this sanctuary might not be delivered up to the enemy, and that he might not see the house of God set on fire: on which account he is celebrated among all the Jews in their sacred memorials, and his memory is become immortal, and will be handed down fresh to posterity through all ages. This, John, is an excellent example, even if danger be involved. But I promise that the Romans will forgive you. And remember that I, who advise you thus, am one of your own nation; I, who promise you this, am a Jew; and it is right to consider who gives advice and where it comes from. For while I am alive may I never be such a slave as to forego my own kindred, or forget the laws of our forefathers. You are indignant at me again, and make a clamour at me, and reproach me, and I cannot deny that I am worthy of worse treatment than this, because I advise you thus in opposition to fate, and endeavour strongly to save those whom God has condemned. And who does not know the writings of the ancient prophets, and particularly the oracle which is just now going to be fulfilled upon this unhappy city? For they foretold that this city should be taken when somebody should begin the slaughter of his fellow-countrymen. And are not both the city and the entire temple now full of the dead bodies of your fellow-countrymen? It is God therefore, it is God himself, who in concert with the Romans is bringing fire to purge the city and temple, and is going to root up this city, which is full of so many pollutions."

§ 2. As Josephus spoke these words with groans and tears, his voice was broken by sobs. And the Romans pitied his emotion and admired his good intention; but John and his party were only the more exasperated against the Romans, and desired to get Josephus also

into their power. But his speech influenced many of the better sort. And some only stayed where they were, because they were afraid of the guards set by the seditious, though they were satisfied that both they and the city were doomed to destruction. Some also watched for a convenient opportunity to get quietly away, and fled to the Romans, among whom were the high priests Joseph and Jesus, and of the sons of the high priests, three of the sons of Ishmael, who was beheaded in Cyrene,[1] and four sons of Matthias, as also one son of the other Matthias, who ran away after his father's death, for his father was slain by Simon the son of Gioras, with three of his sons, as I have already related; many other noble men also went over to the Romans with the high priests. And Titus not only received these men very kindly in other respects, but also, knowing they would not willingly live after the customs of other nations, sent them to Gophna,[2] and desired them to remain there for the present, and told them, that when he had finished the war, he would restore their possessions again to each of them at his leisure. So they gladly retired to the small city which was allotted them, without fear of any danger; but as they were not seen again, the seditious spread it abroad again that deserters were slain by the Romans, which they did of course to deter the rest from running away from fear of the same treatment. This trick of theirs succeeded for a while as before; for others were deterred from deserting by fear of the same treatment.

§ 3. So Titus recalled these men from Gophna, and bade them go round the walls with Josephus, and show themselves to the people, upon which a very great many fled to the Romans. They also assembled *en masse*, and standing before the Romans, besought the seditious with lamentations and tears first to receive the Romans into the city while it was entire, and save their country again, and if not, at least to depart out of the temple, and save the holy house for them; for the Romans would not venture to

[1] The chief town of Cyrenaica, the Libyan Pentapolis, on the north coast of Africa. Antiq. xiv. 7, § 2; xvi. 6, § 5. Jewish War, ii. 16, § 4; vii. 11, § 1.

[2] *Jifna*. Jewish War, i. 11, § 2.

set the sanctuary on fire except on the most pressing necessity. But the seditious were only the more obstinate in their opposition, and cast loud reproaches upon these deserters, and also mounted their engines for throwing darts and bolts and stones upon the sacred gates of the temple at due distances from one another, so that all the space round the temple was like a cemetery, so great was the number of dead bodies therein, and the holy house itself was like a citadel. For they rushed into the Holy and Holy of Holies in their armour, while their hands were yet warm with the blood of their fellow-countrymen, nay, they proceeded to such great lawlessness, that the Romans had now against the Jews the very same indignation, for their impiety in regard to their own religious customs, that the Jews would naturally have had against the Romans, had they been guilty of such abuses against them. Indeed, there were none of the Roman soldiers who did not look with awe at the holy house, and adore it, and wish that the robbers would repent before their sufferings were past remedy.

§ 4. Now Titus was deeply affected with this state of things, and again reproached John and his party, and said to them, "Did not you, vilest of wretches, put up a wall of partition before your Holy of Holies? Did you not put up pillars in the temple at due distances, and engrave on them in Greek and Roman letters the order that no one should go beyond that wall? And did we not give you leave to kill any that went beyond it, even though he were a Roman? And what do you do now, accursed wretches? Why do you trample upon dead bodies in the temple? and why do you pollute this holy house with the blood of both foreigners and Jews themselves? I appeal to the gods of my own country, and to every god that ever had any regard to this place (for I do not suppose it is now regarded by any of them); I also appeal to my own army, and to those Jews that are now with me, and even to yourselves, that I do not force you to defile your sanctuary; and if you will but change your battle-ground, no Roman shall either come near your sanctuary, or offer any affront to it. Nay, I will endeavour to preserve to you your holy house, whether you will or not."

§ 5. When Josephus was the spokesman of these words of

Titus, both the robbers and the tyrant[1] thought that this exhortation proceeded from Titus' fear, and not from his good-will, and treated it with contempt. And as Titus saw that these men were neither to be moved by pity for themselves, nor had any concern about the holy house being spared, he proceeded unwillingly to war again. He could not indeed lead all his army against them, the space was so narrow, but choosing thirty of the most valiant soldiers out of every hundred, and committing a thousand to each tribune, and making Cerealis the commander in chief, he gave orders that they should attack the garrison of the Jews about the ninth hour that night. And when he was now in his armour, and intending to go down with them, he was stopped by his friends because of the greatness of the danger, and by the remarks of the commanders; for they said that he would do more by sitting in the tower of Antonia, as a dispenser of rewards to those soldiers that distinguished themselves in the fight, than by coming down, and hazarding his own person in the front; for they would all fight stoutly while Titus looked on. To this Titus hearkened, and said that the only reason which made him listen to the soldiers was that he might so be able to judge of their valour, and that no brave soldier might be unnoticed and lose his reward, and that no cowardly soldier might go unpunished; but that he might himself be a spectator and eye-witness of all that was done, who was to be the disposer of punishments and rewards. So he sent the soldiers about their work at the forementioned hour, and went himself to a watch-tower in the tower of Antonia, and there waited with impatience to see the event.

§ 6. However, the soldiers that were sent did not find the garrison asleep, as they hoped to have done, but were obliged to engage with them immediately, as they rushed upon them with a great shout. And as soon as the rest heard the shout of those that were upon the watch, they sallied out upon them *en masse*. And the Romans received the onset of those that came first upon them, but those that followed them fell upon their own troops, and

[1] John of Gischala is meant. Cf. §§ 1, 6.

many of them treated their own soldiers as if they had been enemies. For the confused noise that was made on both sides hindered them from accurately distinguishing one another's voices, and the darkness of the night hindered them from distinguishing them by sight; besides that blindness which was inspired by passion in some, and by fear in others. So it was all one to the soldiers whom they struck at. However, this ignorance did less harm to the Romans than to the Jews, for they fought more shoulder to shoulder, and advanced in better order, and each of them remembered their watch-word: while the Jews were perpetually scattered about, and made their attacks and retreats at random, and frequently seemed to one another to be enemies; for every one of them received those of their own men that came back in the dark as Romans who were attacking them. And so more of them were wounded by their own men than by the enemy, till, upon the coming of day, the nature of the fight was henceforth discerned by the eye; they then stood in line of battle, and regularly cast their darts and defended themselves. Nor did either side yield or grow weary. The Romans vied with each other who should fight the most energetically, both single men and entire regiments, as being under the eye of Titus, and every one concluded that this day would be the beginning of his promotion, if he fought bravely; while the great encouragements which the Jews had to act vigorously were their fear for themselves and for the temple, and the presence of their tyrant,[1] who urged on some, and scourged and threatened others. Now it so happened that this fight was for the most part a stationary one, as the soldiers had to manœuvre in small space and quickly; for there was no great space of ground for either party for flight or pursuit. And at every phase of the battle there was an appropriate cry raised by the Romans from the tower of Antonia, who loudly cried out to their own men to press on courageously, when they were getting the best of it, and to stand their ground when they were retreating; so that here was a kind of theatre of war; for what was done in this fight could not

[1] John of Gischala is meant. Cf. §§ 1, 5.

be concealed either from Titus or from those that were with him. And this fight, which began at the ninth hour of the night, was not over till past the fifth hour of the day, and was fought on the same ground where the battle began, and neither party could say they had made the other retire, but both armies left the victory in uncertainty between them. Now those that distinguished themselves on the Roman side were a great many, but on the Jewish side, of those that were with Simon, Judas the son of Merto, and Simon the son of Josias; and of the Idumæans, James and Simon, the latter of whom was the son of Cathlas, as James was the son of Sosas; and of those that were with John, Gypthæus and Alexas; and of the Zealots, Simon the son of Arus.

§ 7. Meantime, the rest of the Roman army had, in seven days' time, overthrown the foundations of the tower of Antonia, and had made ready a broad way up to the temple. Then did the legions come near the first wall, and began to raise their earthworks, one opposite the north-west corner of the inner temple, another at the hall facing north which was between the two gates; and of the other two, one was at the western portico of the outer temple, the other outside opposite the northern portico. However, these works were not thus far advanced by the Romans without great pains and difficulty, particularly as they were obliged to bring their materials from the distance of a hundred furlongs. They were still further injured sometimes by ambushes, being over-secure because of their frequent victories, and finding the Jews over-bold from their despair of safety. For when some of their horsemen, when they went out to gather wood or hay, let their horses feed without having their bridles on, while they were foraging, the Jews sallied out *en masse*, and carried them off. And as this was continually being done, and Titus believed, what was indeed the truth, that the horses were stolen more from the negligence of his own men than the valour of the Jews, he determined to use great severity to force the rest to take care of their horses; so he commanded that one of those soldiers who lost their horses was to be put to death,

whereby he so terrified the rest, that they took care of their horses for the time to come. For they did not any longer let them graze about, but as if they were joined to them, went always with them when they wanted necessaries. And the Romans still continued to besiege the temple, and to raise their earthworks.

§ 8. Now the day after the Romans had ascended the breach, many of the seditious were so pressed by famine, as plunder now failed them, that they gathered together and made an attack on those Roman guards that were upon the Mount of Olives, about the eleventh hour of the day, supposing first that they would not expect an attack, and next that they were then taking care of their bodies, and that therefore they would very easily cut their way through them. But the Romans were apprized beforehand of their coming to attack them, and quickly ran up from the neighbouring camps, and prevented them from getting over their fortifications, and breaking through and forcing their lines. Upon this came on a sharp fight, and here many great actions were performed on both sides; for the Romans showed both their strength and skill in war, and the Jews rushed at them with headlong impetuosity and intolerable passion. The former were urged on by shame, and the latter by necessity; for it seemed very disgraceful for the Romans to let the Jews go, now they were taken in a kind of net, while the Jews had but one hope of safety, and that was if they could by violence break through the Roman lines. And when the Jews were already routed and driven down the ravine, a trooper, whose name was Pedanius, spurred his horse on their flank with great vehemence, and caught up a certain young man belonging to the enemy by his ancle, as he was running away, and a man too of a robust body and in his armour; so low did Pedanius bend himself down from his horse even as it was galloping, and so great was the strength of his right hand, as of the rest of his body, and so skilful was he in horsemanship. So he seized this man as a treasure, and carried him off captive to Titus. Thereupon Titus admired the man that had seized the other for his great strength, and ordered the man that was captured to be punished for his attempt on the Roman lines, and himself

went on with the siege of the temple, and the raising of the earthworks.

§ 9. Meantime the Jews were so distressed by their various fights, as the war ever mounted higher and higher, and crept up to the holy house, that they cut off as it were those limbs of their body which were infected, in order to prevent the distemper spreading further. For they set on fire the north-west portico, which was joined to the tower of Antonia, and afterwards broke off about twenty cubits, and so with their own hands made a beginning of burning the sanctuary. And two days after, on the twenty-fourth day of the forenamed month,[1] the Romans set fire to the next portico, when the fire went fifteen cubits further. The Jews, in like manner, cut off the roof, nor did they at all desist from their work till the tower of Antonia was disconnected from the temple, even though it was in their power to have stopped the fire. But they were inactive when the temple was first set on fire, and deemed this spreading of the fire to be for their advantage. And both armies kept still fighting against one another in the neighbourhood of the temple, and the war was full of continual sallies against one another by turns.

§ 10. Now there was at this time a man among the Jews, of low stature and despicable appearance, and of no note either as to his family or in other respects, whose name was Jonathan. He went out near the high priest John's tomb,[2] and uttered many other insolent things to the Romans, and challenged the best of them to single combat. But most of those in the Roman army disdained him, and some (as well they might be) were afraid of him. Some also reasoned justly enough that it was not wise to fight with a man that desired to die, because those that utterly despaired of safety had besides other things a headlong impetuosity in attack, and had no regard to God; and to hazard oneself against persons, whom to overcome was no great matter, and by whom to be beaten was dangerous and disgraceful, was a proof not of courage but temerity. Now as nobody came out to accept this man's challenge, and the Jew twitted them with a great number

[1] Panemus. [2] Near the *Jaffa* gate. Jewish War, v. 9, § 2.

of reproaches as cowards (for he was a very bragging fellow himself, and a great despiser of the Romans), a trooper whose name was Pudens, disgusted at the other's words and impudence (and perhaps inadvisedly elated at the other's lowness of stature), ran out to him, and was too much for him in other respects, but was betrayed by fortune. For he fell down, and as he was down, Jonathan came running to him, and cut his throat, and then standing upon his dead body, brandished his sword, bloody as it was, and shook his shield with his left hand, and shouted loudly to his own army, and insulted over the dead man, and jeered at the Romans who were looking on, till one Priscus, a centurion, shot a dart at him, as he was leaping about and playing the fool, and pierced him through: upon which a shout was set up both by the Jews and Romans, though from different motives. And Jonathan swooned away from the pain of his wound, and fell down upon the body of his adversary, showing the very quick vengeance that can come upon men that have success in war without deserving the same.

CHAP. III.

Concerning a Stratagem that was devised by the Jews, by which they burnt many of the Romans, with a Description of the terrible Famine that was in the City.

§ 1.

AND now the seditious that were in the temple openly endeavoured every day to beat off the soldiers who were upon the earthworks, and on the twenty-seventh day of the forenamed month[1] contrived the following stratagem. They filled that part of the western portico, which was between the beams and the roof underneath, with dry wood, as also with bitumen and pitch, and then retired from the place, as though they were quite exhausted with the pains they had taken. At this proceeding on their part many of the inconsiderate among the Romans, who were

[1] Panemus.

carried away by their impetuosity, followed hard after them as they were retiring, and applied ladders to the portico, and jumped upon it, but the more prudent of them, thinking this unaccountable retreat of the Jews suspicious, remained where they were. However, the portico was full of those that had mounted on it, and meantime the Jews set it all on fire. And as the flames burst out suddenly from all sides, the Romans that were out of danger were seized with very great consternation, as those that were in the midst of danger were in the utmost distress. And when they perceived themselves surrounded with the flames, some of them threw themselves down headlong backwards into the city, and others among their enemies, and many in hope of safety leaped down among their own men, and broke their limbs, but most of those that were going to take these violent steps were prevented by the fire, but some anticipated the fire by their own swords. However, the fire soon so spread as to surround immediately those who would have otherwise perished. As for Titus, he could not but pity those that thus perished, since there was no way of bringing them any relief, although he was angry with them for going up there without orders. Yet was it some comfort to those who perished that they saw him grieve for whose sake they were lavish of their lives; for he was visible crying out to them, and leaping up, and exhorting those that were about him to do their utmost to relieve them. So every one of them died cheerfully, carrying off with them the words and grief of Titus as a splendid epitaph. Some indeed retired to the wall of the portico, which was broad, and so got safe out of the fire, but were then surrounded by the Jews, and although they resisted for a long time, yet were they wounded by them, and at last all fell.

§ 2. Finally a young man among them, whose name was Longus, threw a lustre on all this tragedy, and while every one of them that perished was worthy of a memorial, this man appeared the bravest of them all; and the Jews admired him for his courage, and were also unable to kill him, so they urged him to come down to them, upon security being given him for his life; but Cornelius his brother besought him, on the contrary, not to tarnish his own

glory, nor that of the Roman army. He listened to him, and lifted up his sword in the presence of both armies, and slew himself. But one Sertorius among those surrounded by the fire escaped by his cleverness. For when he had with a loud voice called Lucius, one of his fellow-soldiers that lay in the same tent, he said to him, "I leave thee heir of all I have, if thou wilt come and receive me. Upon this he came running to receive him readily, and Sertorius threw himself down upon him, and saved his own life, while he that received him was dashed so violently against the pavement by the other's weight, that he died immediately. This tragedy made the Romans dejected for a while, but yet it made them more upon their guard for the future, and was of advantage to them against the treachery of the Jews, by which they were greatly damaged through their ignorance of the localities, and through the nature of the inhabitants. Now this portico was burnt down as far as John's tower, which he had built in the war he made against Simon over the gates that led to the Xystus.[1] The Jews also cut off the rest of that portico, after they had slain those that had got upon it. And the next day the Romans burnt down the north portico entirely as far as the east portico, whose connecting angle was built over the ravine that was called Cedron, so that the depth was frightful. Such was the state of the temple at this time.

§ 3. Now the number of those that perished by famine in the city was prodigious; and the miseries they underwent were unspeakable; for if so much as the shadow of any kind of food anywhere appeared in any house, a fight ensued, and the dearest friends fell to contending with one another for it, snatching from each other the wretched supports of life, Nor would men believe that those who were dying had no food, but the robbers would search them even when they were expiring, lest any one should have concealed food in his bosom and counterfeited death. And the robbers themselves gaped for want, and ran about staggering like mad dogs, and reeling

[1] The Xystus was parallel to the west side of the Temple, between the causeway and 'Robinson's Arch.' The gate leading to it is apparently that known as 'Barclay's Gateway.'

against the doors of houses like drunken men, and would also in their dire distress rush into the same houses two or three times in one hour. And their hunger was so intolerable, that it obliged them to chew every thing, and they picked up such things as the filthiest animals would not touch, and actually eat them. Nor did they at last abstain from girdles and shoes, and pulled off and gnawed the very leather which belonged to their shields. And wisps of old hay became food to some, and some gathered up fibres, and sold a very small weight of them for four Attic [drachmæ]. But why need I describe the shamelessness that the famine brought on men in eating inanimate things? For I am going to relate a fact such as no history records either among Greeks or Barbarians, horrible to speak of it, and incredible when heard. I would indeed have willingly omitted this tragic story, that I might not seem to be merely telling marvels to posterity, but that I have innumerable witnesses to it of my contemporaries. Besides, my country would have little reason to thank me for suppressing the miseries that she underwent at this time.

§ 4. There was a certain woman that dwelt beyond the Jordan, whose name was Mary, and her father was Eleazar, of the village of Bethezob[1] (which signifies the House of Hyssop). She was eminent for her family and wealth, and had fled to Jerusalem with the rest of the community, and was besieged with them at this time. All the other effects that she had brought with her from Peræa,[2] and removed to the city, had been seized upon by the tyrants, and any scraps that she had treasured up besides, as also any food that she had contrived to save, had been also carried off by the rapacious guards, who came every day running to her house. This greatly provoked the poor woman, and from the frequent reproaches and imprecations she cast at these robbers, she incensed them to anger against her. But as none of them either in rage or pity would take away her life, and if she found any food, she perceived her labours were for others, and it was now become almost hopeless for her to find any, and the famine pierced through her very

[1] An unknown place east of Jordan.
[2] Jewish War, iii. 3, § 1.

bowels and marrow, her passion was fired to a degree beyond the famine itself, nor did she take any counsellor but her rage and the necessity she was in. So she proceeded to a most unnatural thing, and, snatching up her son, who was a child sucking at her breast, she exclaimed, "O thou miserable infant! for whom shall I preserve thee in war, famine, and sedition? As to the Romans, even if they preserve our lives, we must be slaves; but the famine will anticipate that slavery, yet are these seditious persons more terrible than both the other plagues. So be thou my food, and be thou a fury to these seditious persons, and a by-word to the world, which is all that is now wanting to complete the calamities of us Jews." As soon as she had said this, she slew her son, and then roasted him, and eat half of him, and kept the rest by her concealed. And straightway the seditious came in, and smelling the scent of this uncanny food, threatened to cut her throat immediately, if she did not show them the food she had dressed. She replied that she had saved a very fine portion of it for them, and uncovered what was left of her son. Thereupon they were seized with horror and amazement of mind, and their blood ran cold at the sight. And she said to them, "This is mine own son, and this is my doing. Come, eat of this food, for I have eaten of it myself, and be not more tender than a woman, or more compassionate than a mother. But if you are too scrupulous, and abhor my sacrifice, as I have eaten half, let the rest be reserved for me also." At this they went out trembling, being cowards at this sight alone, and with some difficulty prevailed on themselves to leave the rest of that meat to the mother. And the whole city was full of this horrid action immediately, and as every body considered this miserable case before their eyes, they shuddered, as if this unheard-of action had been done by themselves. And those that were thus distressed by the famine were very desirous to die, and those already dead were esteemed happy, because they had not lived long enough either to hear or see such miseries.

§ 5. This tragic story soon spread among the Romans, some of whom hardly believed it, and others felt intense pity, but most were excited by it to a more bitter hatred

than before against our nation. As for Titus, he excused himself before God as to this matter, and said that for his part he had offered peace and liberty to the Jews, as well as amnesty for all their former audacity, but that they instead of concord had chosen sedition, and instead of peace war, and before satiety and abundance famine, and had begun with their own hands to burn down the temple, which the Romans had preserved hitherto, and so they deserved to eat such food as this. However, this horrid action of eating a child ought (he said) to be covered by the overthrow of their country, and men ought not to leave such a city upon the earth to be seen by the sun, where mothers were thus fed; although such food was fitter for the fathers than for the mothers, since it was they that continued still in a state of war, even after such miseries as these. At the same time that he said this, he reflected on the desperate condition these men must be in, for they would hardly ever be likely to come to their senses, who had endured all kinds of sufferings, when they need not by repenting have suffered at all.

CHAP. IV.

The Earthworks being completed, and the Battering-rams brought up, to no purpose, Titus gives orders to set fire to the Gates of the Temple; in no long time after which the Holy House itself is burnt down against his Wish.

§ 1.

AND now two of the legions had completed their earthworks on the eighth day of the month Lous, whereupon Titus gave orders that the battering-rams should be applied to the western hall of the inner temple. For before they were brought up, the strongest of all the siege-engines had been incessantly applied to the walls for six days without making any impression upon them; but the great size and excellent masonry of the stones was too much for those and for these also. And some of the Romans undermined the foundations of the northern gate, and

after a world of pains removed the outermost stones; but the gate was upheld by the inner stones, and continued in its position, till the workmen, despairing of all attempts by battering-rams and crowbars, brought up ladders to the porticoes. Now the Jews did not interrupt them in so doing, but when they had got on these ladders, they fell upon them, and fought with them, and some they thrust down, and threw back headlong, and others they met and slew. They also struck and slew with their swords many that were getting off the ladders before they could protect themselves with their shields, nay, some of the ladders, when they were full of armed men, they tipped over and threw down from above. And no small slaughter was made of the Jews also. Those Romans that bore the standards fought especially hard for them, deeming it a terrible thing, that would tend to their great shame, if they permitted them to be seized by the enemy. But the Jews at last got possession of those standards, and slew those that had gone up the ladders, while the rest were so cowed by the fate of those who had been slain that they retired. Now none of the Romans died without having slain some of his foes first; and of the seditious, those that had fought bravely in the former battles did the like now, as also did Eleazar, the nephew of Simon the tyrant. But when Titus perceived that his endeavours to spare a foreign temple turned to the damage of his soldiers, and got them killed, he gave orders to set the gates on fire.

§ 2. Meantime there deserted to him Ananus of Emmaus,[1] the most bloody of all Simon's body-guards, and Archelaus, the son of Magadatus, who hoped to to be forgiven, because they deserted at a time when the Jews were victorious. Titus accused these men of this as a cunning trick, and as he had been informed of all their barbarity to the Jews, he had a great mind to have them both put to death, for he said that they were only driven to this desertion by necessity, and had not come there from choice, and that they did not deserve to be saved alive who now hurried away from their own city which was already on fire owing to them. However, the security he had promised deserters overcame

[1] *'Αμμᾶς.* Jewish War, i. 11, § 2.

his resentment, and he dismissed them accordingly, though he did not put them in the same rank that he had placed others. And now the soldiers had already put fire to the gates, and the silver melting quickly made the flames spread to the wood-work, whence the flames continually extended till they reached the porticoes. Upon the Jews seeing this fire all about them, their spirits sunk together with their bodies, and they were in such a panic that not one of them attempted either to defend himself or to quench the fire, but they stood as mute spectators. However, they did not so grieve at the loss of what was now burning, as to grow wiser for the time to come, but they whetted their passion against the Romans, as though the sanctuary itself was on fire already. This fire prevailed during that day and the following night; for the soldiers were not able to burn the porticoes all together at one time, but only partially.

§ 3. The next day, Titus commanded part of his army to quench the fire, and to make a road for the more easy marching up of the legions, while he himself summoned the commanders together. And when the six principal ones were assembled together, namely, Tiberius Alexander, the general of the whole army, and Sextus Cerealis, the commander of the fifth legion, and Larcius Lepidus, the commander of the tenth legion, and Titus Phrygius, the commander of the fifteenth legion, and Liternius Fronto, the leader of the two legions that came from Alexandria, and Marcus Antonius Julianus, the procurator of Judæa, and after them the rest of the procurators and tribunes, Titus asked for their advice about the temple. Now some thought it would be best to act according to the rules of war [and demolish it], for the Jews would never leave off rebelling while the temple was standing, where they all used to congregate from all quarters. Others were of opinion, that if the Jews would leave it, and cease to make it their arsenal, they might save it, but if the Jews fought from it any more, they must burn it; for it must then be looked upon not as a temple but as a citadel; and the impiety of burning it would belong to those that forced this to be done, and not to them. But Titus said, that even if the Jews did get upon the temple

and fight them from thence, yet they ought not to avenge themselves on inanimate things instead of on men, nor ought they in any case to burn down such a work as that; for that would be a loss to the Romans themselves, as it would be an ornament to their empire as long as it continued. And Fronto and Alexander and Cerealis confidently agreed with the opinion of Titus. Then Titus broke up the meeting, when he had first given orders to the commanders that their other forces should rest, that they might be more vigorous in action, but that picked men from the cohorts should make their way through the ruins, and quench the fire.

§ 4. On that day the Jews were so weary, and in such a panic, that they refrained from any attacks: but on the next day they gathered their whole force together, and very boldly sallied forth through the east gate upon those that guarded the outer part of the temple, about the second hour of the day. And they received their attack with great bravery, and by covering themselves with their shields in front closed in their ranks like a wall, but it was evident they could not stand their ground very long, but would be overcome by the numbers and passion of those that sallied out upon them. So Titus, seeing from the tower of Antonia that these troops would be likely to give way, sent some picked cavalry to reinforce them. Thereupon the Jews were not able to sustain their onset, and upon the slaughter of those in the front, most of the rest were put to flight. But as the Romans retired, the Jews turned back upon them, and pressed upon them, but when the Romans wheeled round, they retreated again, until about the fifth hour of the day they were beaten and shut themselves up inside the temple.

§ 5. Then Titus retired again to the tower of Antonia, and resolved to invest and storm the temple the next day early in the morning with his whole army. As for it, God had certainly long ago doomed it to the fire, and now the fated day had come round in the revolution of ages, namely the tenth day of the month Lous, upon which it was formerly burnt by the king of Babylon. Howbeit, these flames took their rise from the Jews themselves, and were occasioned by them. For upon Titus' retiring, the

seditious were quiet for a little while, and then attacked the Romans again, when those that guarded the sanctuary fought with those that tried to quench the fire that was burning the outside of the temple; but these Romans put the Jews to flight, and proceeded as far as the sanctuary. At this time one of the soldiers, without staying for any orders, and without any horror at so great a crime, being possessed by a certain weird fury, snatched a brand out of the wood that was on fire, and being lifted up by another soldier, set fire to a golden window, through which there was a passage to the rooms round the sanctuary on the north side. As the flames went upwards, the Jews made a great clamour worthy of so mighty an affliction, and ran up to prevent it; and now they were reckless of their lives, and spared not their strength at all, since that was perishing which they had long been fighting to protect.

§ 6. And now a certain person came running to Titus, and told him of this fire, as he was resting himself in his tent after the recent fight, and he leaped up in great haste as he was, and ran to the temple to put a stop to the fire; and all the commanders followed him, and the legions accompanied them in great agitation. And there was a great clamour and tumult raised, as was natural upon the disorderly movement of so great an army. Then Titus, both by calling to the soldiers that were fighting in a loud voice, and by giving a signal to them with his right hand, ordered them to quench the fire. But they did not hear what he said, though he spoke so loud, having their ears already dinned by a greater noise, nor did they attend to the signal he made with his hand either, as the attention of some of them was diverted by fighting, and of others by passion. As for the legions that came running up, neither any exhortation nor threatening could restrain their violence, but each one's passion was his leader; and as they jostled one another in the entrances into the temple, many of them were trampled on by one another, while a great number fell among the still hot and smoking ruins of the porticoes, and perished in the same miserable way as those whom they had conquered. And when they were near the sanctuary, they pretended not to have heard Titus' orders,

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and encouraged those that were before them to set it on fire. As for the seditious, they were in too great distress already to afford their assistance [towards quenching the fire], for they were everywhere slain, and everywhere beaten. As for most of the people, they were weak and without arms, and had their throats cut wherever they were taken, and a quantity of dead bodies lay heaped upon one another round about the altar, and at the steps going up to it ran a great quantity of blood, and the dead bodies also that were slain above slipped down.

§ 7. And now, as Titus was unable to restrain the fury of his enthusiastic soldiers, and the fire prevailed more and more, he went into the Holy of Holies with his generals, and saw it and what was in it, which he found to be far superior to the report of foreigners, and not inferior to what we ourselves boasted and thought of it. But as the flame had not as yet reached its inner parts, but was consuming the rooms round the sanctuary, Titus supposing, as was the case, that the sanctuary might yet be saved, rushed up, and endeavoured in person to persuade the soldiers to quench the fire, and gave orders to Liberalis the centurion to beat and keep back the soldiers that were refractory with the staves of the spearmen that were round him. But their passion overcame the regard they had for Titus, and the dread they had of him who forbade them, as also did their hatred of the Jews, and a certain vehement inclination to fight them. Moreover, the hope of plunder induced many to go on, as they thought that all the places within were full of money, and they saw that all round it was made of gold. And, besides, one of those that had entered the place anticipated Titus, when he rushed up to restrain the soldiers, and put fire under the hinges of the gate in the dark, and as the flame burst out from within immediately the generals retired with Titus, and nobody any longer forbade those that were without to set fire to the sanctuary. Thus was it burnt down against Titus' wish.

§ 8. Now, although one could not indeed but greatly lament the destruction of such a splendid pile as this was, since it was the most wonderful of all the works that we have seen or heard of, not only for its curious structure

and size, but also for the vast cost of every part of it, and for the glorious reputation of its Holy of Holies, yet might such a one greatly comfort himself with the thought that it was fate that decreed it so to be, which neither living creatures nor works and places can avoid. However, one cannot but wonder at the exactness of the period. For the same month and day were now observed, as I said before, as that whereon the temple was burnt before by the Babylonians. Now the number of years that passed from its first building, commenced by king Solomon, till this destruction of it, which happened in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, are inferred to be one thousand one hundred and thirty, besides seven months and fifteen days; and from the second building of it by Haggai, in the second year of Cyrus the king, till its destruction under Vespasian, there were six hundred and thirty-nine years and forty-five days.

CHAP. V.

The great Distress the Jews were in upon the Burning of the Temple. Concerning a false Prophet, and the Signs that preceded this Destruction.

§ 1.

WHILE the temple was on fire, every thing was plundered that came to hand, and ten thousand of those that were taken were slain: nor was there pity for any age, nor any regard paid to dignity, but children, and old men, and profane persons, and priests, were all slain in the same manner; so that this war pursued and included all sorts of men, as well those that made supplication for their lives as those that defended themselves by fighting. The flames also spread a long way and roared in unison with the groans of those that were slain, and because the hill was high, and the size of the burning pile so great, one would have thought the whole city had been on fire; nor could one imagine any thing either greater or more terrible than the noise. For there was at once the shouting of the Roman legions, who were all marching together, and the cries of the seditious,

who were now surrounded with fire and sword, and the flight of the people that were left above in great panic to the enemy, and their wailing at their woes; and the people also in the city joined those that were upon the hill in this lamentation. Many also of those that were wasted away by famine, and their mouths almost closed, when they saw the sanctuary on fire, exerted their utmost strength, and broke out into groans and wailing again; and Peræa and the mountains round Jerusalem returned the echo, and augmented the hubbub. But the sufferings were more terrible than this uproar. For one would have thought that the hill itself, on which the temple stood, was seething hot from its base, so full of fire was it on every side, and that the blood was larger in quantity than the fire, and that those that were slain were more in number than those that slew them. For the ground was nowhere visible for the dead bodies that lay on it, and the soldiers went over heaps of those bodies as they pursued those who fled from them. And now the multitude of the robbers with some difficulty thrust back the Romans, and broke through their ranks into the outer temple, and thence into the city, while the remainder of the populace fled to the outer portico. As for the priests, some of them plucked off from the sanctuary the spikes that were upon it, and their bases which were made of lead, and shot them at the Romans as missiles. But as they gained nothing by so doing, and as the fire burst out upon them, they then retired to the wall, which was eight cubits broad, and there they stayed. However, two of eminence among them, who might have saved themselves by going over to the Romans, or have borne up with courage and shared the fortune of others, threw themselves into the fire, and were burnt with the temple, namely Meirus the son of Belgas, and Joseph the son of Dalæus.

§ 2. And now the Romans, as the temple was on fire, judging it idle to spare anything in its vicinity, burnt everything, as the remains of the porticoes, and the gates, two excepted, one on the east side, and the other on the south; both of which, however, they destroyed afterwards. They also burnt the treasuries, in which was an immense quantity of money, and an immense number of garments, and other precious things; indeed, to say all in a few words,

the entire riches of the Jews were heaped up there, for the rich had built themselves store-chambers there. The soldiers also went to the remaining portico of the outer temple, where the women and children, and a very great mixed multitude of people had fled, in number about six thousand. And before Titus had determined any thing about these people, or given the commanders any orders relating to them, the soldiers, carried away by their rage, set the portico on fire; whereupon some of these persons were destroyed by throwing themselves down headlong to avoid the flames, and some were burnt in them. Nor did any out of so many escape. A false prophet was the cause of these people's destruction, who had made a public proclamation in the city that very day, that God commanded them to ascend up to the temple, and that they should there receive miraculous signs of their deliverance. Now many prophets were suborned by the tyrants at this time to impose on the people, who announced to them that they should wait for deliverance from God, and this was in order to keep them from deserting, and that they might be buoyed up above fear and care by such hopes. Now a man in adversity quickly listens to such comfort; and whenever a deceiver makes him believe that he shall be delivered from the miseries which oppress him, then the sufferer is full of hope.

§ 3. Thus were the miserable people led astray by these deceivers, who falsely said they were sent by God himself; while they did not attend nor give credit to the signs that were so evident and so plainly foretold their future desolation, but like men stupefied, without either eyes to see or mind to consider, did not regard the public intimations that God gave them. Thus there was a star resembling a sword, which stood over the city, and a comet that continued a whole year. And before the Jews' rebellion, and before those commotions which preceded the war, when the people were come in great crowds to the feast of Unleavened Bread, on the eighth day of the month Xanthicus, at the ninth hour of the night, so great a light shone round the altar and sanctuary, that it appeared to be bright day-light, and this light lasted for half an hour. This light seemed to be a good sign to the unskilful, but was interpreted

by the sacred scribes to portend those events that immediately followed. At the same feast also an heifer, as she was led by the high priest to be sacrificed, brought forth a lamb in the midst of the temple. Moreover, the eastern gate of the inner temple, which was of brass and exceedingly heavy, and was with difficulty shut every evening by twenty men, and rested upon bars covered with iron, and had posts let down very deep into the firm floor, which consisted of one entire stone, was seen to open of its own accord about the sixth hour of the night. Thereupon those that kept watch in the temple ran to the captain of the temple, and told him of it, and he went up there, and was not able without great difficulty to shut it again. This also appeared to the ignorant to be a very happy omen, as if God did thereby open to them the gate of happiness; but the men of learning understood by it that the security of their temple was dissolved of its own accord, and that the gate opened for the advantage of their enemies, and they declared that the sign foreshowed the desolation that was coming upon them. Besides these, a few days after the feast, on the one and twentieth day of the month Artemisius, a certain marvellous and incredible phenomenon appeared. I suppose what I am going to tell would seem a fable, were it not related by those that saw it, and were not the sad events that followed it deserving of such signs. Before sunset chariots were seen in the air, and troops of soldiers in their armour running about among the clouds and besieging cities. Moreover, at the feast which is called Pentecost, as the priests were going by night into the inner temple, as their custom was, to perform their sacred ministrations, they said that first they felt a quaking, and heard a great noise, and after that they heard a sound as of a multitude saying, "Let us remove hence." But, what is still more terrible, there was one Jesus the son of Ananus, a rustic and one of the people, who, four years before the war began, and at a time when the city was in very great peace and prosperity, came to that feast wherein it is our custom for every one to make tabernacles to God in the temple, and began on a sudden to cry aloud, "A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and

the temple, a voice against bridegrooms and brides, and a voice against the whole people!" This he cried, as he went about by day and by night, in all the streets of the city. Now some of the most eminent of the people were very indignant at this ill-omened cry of his, and arrested the man, and gave him a great number of severe stripes. But he neither said any thing for himself, nor any thing privately to those who scourged him, but still went on uttering the same words as before. Thereupon the rulers, supposing, as the case proved to be, that the notion of the man proceeded from the Deity, brought him before the Roman procurator, where he was scourged till his bones were laid bare; yet did not he make any supplication for himself, nor shed any tears, but turning his voice to the most lamentable tone possible, at every stroke of the scourge his utterance was, "Woe to Jerusalem!" And when Albinus (who was then our procurator) asked him, "Who he was? and whence he came? and why he uttered these words?" he made no reply at all to this, but still did not leave off repeating his melancholy lament over the city, till Albinus saw that he was a madman, and let him go. Now, during all the time that passed before the war begun, this man did not go near any of the citizens, nor was he seen speaking, but every day he uttered these lamentable words, as if he were repeating a prayer, "Woe to Jerusalem!" Nor did he give ill words to any of those who beat him every day, nor good words to those who gave him food. But this was his one reply to all men, which was indeed no other than a melancholy presage of what was to come. This cry of his was loudest at the feasts, and he continued repeating it for seven years and five months, without growing hoarse, or being tired therewith, until the very time that he saw his presage fulfilled in earnest in our siege, when he stopped. For as he was going round upon the wall, he cried out in a loud voice, "Woe to the city again, and to the people, and to the temple!" And just as he added at last, "Woe to myself also!" there came a stone out of one of the engines, and struck him, and killed him immediately; and as he was still uttering the very same presages, he gave *up the ghost.*

§ 4. Now, if any one consider these things, he will find that

God takes care of mankind, and in all ways foreshows our race what is for their safety, and that men perish by their own folly and self-chosen evils. For example, the Jews, by demolishing the tower of Antonia,[1] had made their temple square, though they had it written in their sacred oracles, that their city and sanctuary should be taken, when their temple should become square. But what most stirred them up to the war, was an ambiguous oracle that was found also in their sacred writings, that about that time one from their country should become ruler of the world. The Jews took this prediction to belong to themselves, and many wise men were thereby deceived in their judgment. Now, this oracle certainly denoted the rule of Vespasian, who was declared emperor in Judæa. However, it is not possible for men to avoid fate, although they see it beforehand. And these men interpreted some of these signs according to their own pleasure, and some of them they utterly despised, until their madness was shown both by the capture of their city and their own destruction.

CHAP. VI.

How the Romans carried their Standards to the Temple, and made joyful Acclamations to Titus. The Speech that Titus made to the Jews when they begged for Mercy. What Reply they made, and how that Reply moved Titus' Indignation against them.

§ 1.

AND now the Romans, upon the flight of the seditious into the city, and upon the burning of the temple itself and of everything round it, brought their standards to the temple, and set them opposite its eastern gate, and there offered sacrifices to them, and hailed Titus as Imperator with the greatest acclamations of joy. And now all the soldiers had got by plunder such vast quantity of spoil, that in Syria a lump[2] of gold was sold

[1] The tower of Antonia was connected by a colonnade with the north-west corner of the Temple.

[2] Or pound. The Greek word here is indefinite in meaning.

for half its former value. As for the priests that remained still upon the wall of the sanctuary, a lad of theirs, because of the thirst he was in, begged some of the Roman guards to give him their right hand, and confessed he was very thirsty. These guards pitied his youth and distress, and gave him their right hands accordingly. So he came down himself, and drank some water, and filled the vessel he had with him when he came to them with water, and then went away and fled up to his own friends; nor could any of these guards overtake him, but they reproached him for his perfidiousness. To which he answered that he had not broken his agreement; for the security he had had given him was not about his staying with them, but only about his coming down and taking some water, both which things he had done, and therefore thought himself faithful to his engagement. Thereupon those whom the lad had imposed upon marvelled at his cunning because of his youth. On the fifth day afterwards the priests who were half starved came down, and when they were brought to Titus by the guards, begged for their lives. But he replied that the time of pardon was over for them, for the temple, for whose sake he could have reasonably spared them, was destroyed, and it was fitting that priests should perish with their temple. So he ordered them to be put to death.

§ 2. As for the tyrants themselves and those who sided with them, when they found that they were surrounded on every side, and, as it were, walled in without any chance of escape, they invited Titus to a colloquy. And such was the kindness of his nature, and desire to preserve the city from destruction, joined to the advice of his friends, who now thought the robbers were become more moderate, that he accepted this, and stood on the west side of the outer temple; for there were gates on that side above the Xystus, and a bridge connected the upper city with the temple,[1] which bridge lay between the tyrants and Titus. And the multitude was numerous on each side, the Jews round Simon and John, in suspense as to their hope of pardon, and the Romans round Titus, wondering how he would receive

[1] The Causeway bridge, now known as 'Wilson's Arch.'

the supplication of the Jews. And Titus charged his soldiers to restrain their rage, and to let their darts alone, and placed an interpreter by his side, and began to speak first, which was a sign that he was the conqueror. "I hope, sirs, you are now satisfied with the miseries of your country, who had no conception either of our power or your own weakness, but in inconsiderate fury and madness have brought your people and city and temple to destruction, and will also yourselves rightly perish. Your nation has never left off rebelling since Pompey first conquered you, and since that time you have made open war upon the Romans! Have you relied on your numbers? Why, a very small part of the Roman soldiers has been strong enough for you. Have you relied on the fidelity of allies? Pray what nations outside our empire would prefer to assist Jews rather than Romans? Are your bodies stronger than ours? Nay, you know that the Germans themselves are our servants. Have you stronger walls than we have? Pray, what greater defence is there than the wall of the ocean, with which the Britons are surrounded, and yet they bow down before the arms of the Romans? Do you exceed us in stoutness of soul, and in the skill of your commanders? However, you know that we conquered even the Carthaginians. It can therefore be nothing but the humanity of the Romans that has excited you against them. For they, in the first place, gave you this land to possess, and, in the next place, set over you kings of your own nation, and, in the third place, preserved the laws of your forefathers to you, and also permitted you to live, either by yourselves or among others, as you pleased. And, what is our chief favour of all, we have given you leave to pay your tribute to God,[1] and to collect such other gifts as are dedicated to him, nor have we called those that offered these gifts to account, nor prohibited them, and the end has been that you have become only richer enemies, and have made preparations for war against us with our own money. Thus, after enjoying all these advantages, you turned your satiety against those that gave it you, and, like untamable

[1] Spanheim notes here, that the Romans used to permit the Jews to collect their sacred tribute, and send it to Jerusalem: of which we have had abundant evidence in Josephus already on other occasions.—W.

serpents, spit your venom on those that treated you kindly. It is possible, indeed, that you might despise the easiness of Nero, and, like parts of the body fractured or ruptured, you quietly waited formerly, though with malicious intent, and have only now shown your true selves in the climax of the disease, and extended your desires to impudent and immense hopes. My father came to this country, not to punish you for what you had done under Cestius, but to admonish you. For had he come to overthrow your nation, he would have hastened at once to your fountain-head, and immediately sacked this city, whereas he ravaged Galilee and the neighbouring parts, and so gave you time for repentance. But that humanity of his you took as a sign of weakness, and nourished your audacity on our mildness. And when Nero was dead, you did as the wickedest wretches would have done, and encouraged yourselves to act against us because of our civil dissensions, and abused the time, when both I and my father were away in Egypt, in making preparations for this war. Nor were you ashamed to give trouble to those as emperors, whom you had found to be mild generals. For when the empire devolved upon us, and all other people were thereupon quiet, and foreign nations sent embassies and congratulated us on our accession, then did you Jews show yourselves again our enemies. You sent embassies to those of your own nation that were beyond the Euphrates, to assist you in raising disturbances, and you built new walls round your city, and seditions arose, and one tyrant contended against another, and a civil war broke out among you; things indeed such as became none but so wicked a people as you are. I then came to this city on a sad errand from my unwilling father; and when I heard that the people were disposed to peace, I rejoiced at it. I exhorted you to leave off your action before I began the war. I spared you even when you had fought against me a long while, I gave my right hand to deserters, I kept faith with those that fled to me, I had compassion on many of those that I had taken captive, I tortured those that were eager for war in order to restrain them, I unwillingly brought my engines of war against your walls, I always checked my soldiers when they were set upon your slaughter, and

after every victory I invited you to peace, as though I had been myself the conquered party. When I came near your temple, I again willingly forgot the laws of war, and exhorted you to spare your own sanctuary, and to preserve your temple for yourselves, and allowed you a quiet exit out of it and pledged you your personal security, nay, if you had a mind, I gave you opportunity to fight on other ground. But you despised every one of my offers, and set fire to your temple with your own hands. And now, vilest of wretches, do you invite me to a colloquy? To what end would you save such a holy house as this was,[1] which is now destroyed? What safety can you now claim after the destruction of your temple? Yet you still stand at this very time in your armour, nor can you bring yourselves so much as to pretend to be suppliants even in your utmost extremity. O miserable creatures, what is it you depend on? are not your people dead? is not your temple burnt to the ground? is not your city in my power? and are not your very lives in my hands? and do you then deem it a proof of valour to be unwilling to die? However, I will not try to rival your madness. If you will throw down your arms, and deliver up your persons to me, I grant you your lives, and will act like a mild master of a family, punishing what cannot be healed, and preserving the rest for myself."

§ 3. To this offer of Titus they replied that they could not accept his right hand, because they had sworn never to do so, but they desired they might have leave of exit through the enemy's lines with their wives and children; for they would go into the desert and leave the city to him. At this Titus was very indignant, when they were in the case of men already taken captives, that they should offer their own terms to him, as if they had been conquerors. So he ordered proclamation to be made to them, that they were no more to come out to him as deserters, nor hope for any further offers of security, for he would henceforth spare nobody, but fight them with his whole army, and they might save themselves as well as they could; for he would from henceforth treat them with all the rigour of

[1] I conjecture τοιοῦτον ναὸν οἷον. Itaque verti. I suspect ναὸν to have dropped out ductu literarum.

war. And he gave orders to the soldiers both to burn and plunder the city. And they did nothing indeed that day, but the next day they set fire to the archives, and Acra, and the council-house, and the place called Ophlas,[1] and the fire spread as far as the palace of queen Helena, which was in the middle of Acra. The streets also were burnt down, as were also the houses, which were full of the dead bodies of those who had died of famine.

§ 4. On the same day the sons and brothers of king Izates, together with many other prominent men of the people, assembled together there, and besought Titus to give them his right hand. And he, though he was very angry at all who were now left, did not change his character, but received these men. For the time indeed, he kept them all in custody, but bound the king's sons and kinsmen, and afterwards took them away with him to Rome, to be hostages for their country's fidelity to the Romans.

CHAP. VII.

What afterwards befell the Seditious, when they had done a great deal of Mischief, and suffered many Misfortunes; as also how Titus became Master of the Upper City.

§ 1.

AND now the seditious rushed to the royal palace,[2] into which many had put their effects, because it was so strong, and drove the Romans away from it. They also slew all the people that had crowded into it, who were in number about eight thousand four hundred, and plundered everything. They also took two Romans alive, one a horse-soldier, the other a foot-soldier. They cut the throat of the foot-soldier immediately, and dragged him through the whole city, as if revenging themselves upon all the Romans in this one person. But the horse-soldier said he had something to suggest to them for their safety, whereupon he was brought before Simon, but having nothing to say when

[1] To the south of the Temple.
[2] Herod's palace, near the Jaffa gate.

he was there, he was handed over to Ardalas, one of the Jewish commanders, to be punished. And he bound his hands behind him, and put a bandage over his eyes, and then led him out opposite the Romans, intending to cut off his head. But he was too quick for this, and ran away to the Romans, while the Jewish executioner was drawing his sword. Now as he had got away from the enemy, Titus could not think of putting him to death, but he deemed him unworthy of being a Roman soldier any longer, because he had been taken alive by the enemy, so he took away his arms, and turned him out of the legion to which he belonged; which, to one that had a sense of shame, was a penalty severer than death itself.

§ 2. On the next day the Romans drove the robbers out of the lower city, and set all on fire as far as Siloam.[1] They were indeed glad to see the city destroyed, but they missed getting any plunder, because the seditious had carried off everything beforehand, and had retired into the upper city. For these last did not at all repent of the mischief they had done, but were insolent, as if they had done well. At any rate, when they saw the city on fire, they appeared cheerful, and put on joyful countenances in expectation, as they said, of death ending their miseries, for as the people were now slain, and the temple burnt down, and the city on fire, there was nothing further left for the enemy to do. However, even in this utmost extremity, Josephus did not grow weary of begging them to spare what was left of the city, but spoke largely to them about their barbarity and impiety, and gave them much advice tending to their safety, though he gained nothing more thereby than being laughed at by them. And as they would not hear of surrender because of the oath they had taken, and were not strong enough to fight against the Romans any longer upon equal terms, being a kind of prisoners already, yet were they so accustomed to kill people, that they could not restrain their right hands from doing so. So they dispersed themselves in front of the city, and laid ambush among its ruins, to catch those that attempted to desert to the Romans. And many were caught by them, and all slain (for they were too

[1] The fountain of Siloam appears to be intended here.

weak from want of food to flee away), and their dead bodies were thrown to the dogs. Now every kind of death was thought more endurable than famine, so that, though the Jews despaired of mercy, they would yet flee to the Romans, and would also of their own accord court death by falling upon the murdering insurgents. Nor was there any place in the city that had no dead bodies in it, but every place was full of those that were killed, either by the famine or the sedition.

§ 3. And now the last hope which comforted the tyrants and the robbers who were with them, was in the underground passages, into which if they once fled, they did not expect to be tracked out, but thought that, after the whole city should be destroyed, and the Romans gone away, they might come out again and escape. This was no better than a dream of theirs, for they were not destined to lie hid either from God or from the Romans. However, they relied on these underground passages, and set more places on fire than did the Romans themselves; and killed without mercy, and pillaged also, those that fled out of their burning houses into the underground passages, and if they discovered food belonging to any one, they seized upon it, and gulped it down all bloody as it was. They also now fought with one another about the plunder; and I cannot but think that, had not their destruction prevented it, their barbarity would have made them eat even dead bodies.

CHAP. VIII.

How Titus raised Earthworks round the Upper City, and when they were completed, gave orders that the Battering-rams should be brought up. He then became master of the whole City.

§ 1.

NOW when Titus perceived that the upper city was so precipitous that it could not possibly be taken without raising earthworks, he distributed this work among his troops on the twentieth day of the month Lous. Now the bringing up of wood was a difficult task, since all the trees,

as I have already said, round the city for a hundred furlongs had been stripped bare already to make the former earthworks. The works raised by the four legions were erected on the west side of the city, opposite the royal palace, and the whole of the auxiliary troops and the rest of the soldiers erected their earthworks towards the Xystus, and the bridge, and that tower which Simon had built as a citadel for himself against John, when he was at war with him.[1]

§ 2. During these days the commanders of the Idumæans assembled together privately, and deliberated about surrender to the Romans, and sent five men to Titus, and entreated him to give them his right hand. And Titus, thinking that the tyrants would yield if the Idumæans, who played a great part in the war, were but once detached from them, after some delay complied with them, and gave them security for their lives, and sent the five men back. But as these Idumæans were preparing to depart, Simon perceived it, and immediately slew the five men that had gone to Titus, and arrested their commanders, of whom the most eminent was James, the son of Sosas, and put them in prison; but as for the rank and file of the Idumæans, who did not at all know what to do now their commanders were taken from them, he had them watched, and manned the walls with a more careful garrison. Yet could not that garrison stop desertion, for, although a great number of them were slain, the deserters were far more numerous. They were all received by the Romans, because Titus himself, owing to his clemency, grew negligent as to his former orders, and because the soldiers themselves grew weary of killing them, and hoped to get some money by sparing their lives. For they left only the populace, and sold the rest of the multitude with their wives and children, and every one of them at a very low price, because such as were sold were very many, and the buyers were few. And although Titus had made proclamation beforehand that no deserter should come alone by himself, that so they might bring out their families also with them, yet did he receive such as came alone also; however, he set over them such as were to

[1] The auxiliaries were on the east side of the Upper City, which was protected by a wall.

decide if any of them deserved to be punished. And the number of those that were sold was immense, but more than forty thousand of the populace were saved alive, whom Titus allowed to go where each of them pleased.

§ 3. During the same days one of the priests, the son of Thebuthi, whose name was Jesus, upon his having security given him by the oath of Titus that he should be preserved, on condition that he would deliver up to him certain of the holy treasures, came out, and delivered up to him from the wall of the holy house two candlesticks, like those that lay in the holy house, and tables and bowls and vials, all made of solid gold and very heavy. He also delivered up to him the veils and vestments of the high-priests with the precious stones, and many other vessels that belonged to their sacred worship. The treasurer of the temple also, whose name was Phineas, was arrested, and showed Titus the cassocks and girdles of the priests, and much purple and scarlet, which were kept there to make the veils, as also a great deal of cinnamon and cassia, and a quantity of other spices, which used to be mixed together and burnt as incense to God every day. A great many other treasures were also delivered up by him, and not a few sacred ornaments, the delivery up to Titus of which things obtained for this man, though captured by force, the same pardon that was given to such as deserted.

§ 4. And now the earthworks were finished, which took eighteen days, on the seventh day of the month Gorpiæus, and the Romans brought up their engines; and some of the seditious, already despairing of saving the city, retired from the wall to Acra; others hid themselves in the underground passages, though many of them stood their ground and defended themselves against those that brought up the battering-rams. But the Romans overcame them by their numbers and strength, and what was the principal thing of all, by going cheerfully about their work, while the Jews were already quite dejected and worn out. Now, as soon as part of the wall was battered down, and some of the towers yielded to the impression of the battering-rams, those that manned the wall fled, and a much greater terror fell upon the tyrants than the occasion required; for, before the enemy got over the breach they

were numb with fear and keen for flight. And now now one might see those men, who had hitherto been so insolent and arrogant in their wicked practices, cast down and trembling, so that the charge excited pity even for such vile persons. And although their idea now was to make a rush on the Roman lines, and to try to thrust back those that guarded them, and to break through and get away; yet, when they nowhere saw those who had formerly been faithful to them (for indeed they fled wherever necessity suggested), and when some came running up who told them that the western wall was entirely overthrown, while others said the Romans had got in, and others that they were near at hand and seeking for them, and others that they saw the enemy on the towers, fear made their eyes roll, and they fell upon their faces, and loudly lamented their own mad conduct, and their nerves were so terribly paralysed, that they could not even flee. And here one may chiefly see the power of God in the case of these wicked wretches, and the good fortune of the Romans. For these tyrants now wholly deprived themselves of the security they had, and came down of their own accord from those very towers, whereon they could have never been taken by force, but could only have succumbed to famine. Thus did the Romans, when they had taken such great pains about weaker walls, get by good fortune what they could never have got by their engines: for three of these towers, which I have spoken about before, were too strong for any siege-engines whatever.

§ 5. So now they left these towers, or rather were ejected from them by God himself, and fled forthwith to the ravine which was below Siloam. And they again recovered for a while from their panic, and rushed against the Roman lines on that side. But as their courage was too much depressed for them to make their attacks with sufficient vigour, and their strength was now broken with fear and reverses, they were repulsed by the guards, and dispersed from each other, and slunk down into the underground passages. And the Romans, being now masters of the walls, placed their standards upon the towers, and made joyful acclamations for the victory they had gained, having

found the end of this war much less arduous than its beginning. For having got upon the last wall without any bloodshed, they could hardly believe their eyes, and seeing nobody to oppose them, stood in doubt what such an unusual solitude could mean. However, rushing into the streets of the city with their swords drawn, they slew those whom they met without mercy, and set fire to the houses into which the Jews had fled, and burnt every soul in them. And in their frequent search for plunder, whenever they came inside any houses to plunder them, they found in them entire families of dead men, and the bedrooms full of corpses of such as had died of famine. They then stood in horror at the sight, and went out without touching any thing. But although they pitied such as died in this manner, they did not feel the same pity for those that were still alive, but they ran everyone through whom they met, and blocked up the streets with dead bodies, and made the whole city run with blood, to such a degree indeed, that the fire of many of the burning houses was quenched with these men's blood. And they left off slaying at evening, but the fire greatly prevailed in the night. And the eighth day of the month Gorpiæus, when it dawned, found all Jerusalem burning, a city that had suffered such fearful horrors during the siege, that if it had enjoyed as much happiness from its first foundation, it would justly have been the envy of the world. Nor did it on any other account so much deserve these sore misfortunes, as for its producing such a generation of men as caused its overthrow.

CHAP. IX.

The Instructions Titus gave when he entered the City. The number of the Captives, and of those that perished in the Siege; as also concerning those who escaped into the Underground Passages, among whom were the tyrants Simon and John themselves.

§ 1.

NOW when Titus entered the city, he admired not only the other places of strength in it, but particularly those towers[1] which the tyrants in their madness had relinquished. For when he saw their solid height, and the size of each stone, and the excellence of their masonry, as also their great breadth and extent, he said, "We have certainly had God for our helper in this war, and it was no other than God who ejected the Jews out of these fortifications, for what could engines or the hands of men do towards overthrowing these towers?" At this time he held many such discourses to his friends; and also let such go free as had been put in bonds by the tyrants and left in the prisons. Moreover, when he entirely demolished the rest of the city, and rased its walls to the ground, he left these towers as a monument of his good fortune, which had fought on his side and enabled him to take what he could not otherwise have taken.

§ 2. And now, as his soldiers were already quite tired of their butchery, and yet there appeared to be a vast multitude still surviving, Titus gave orders that they should kill none but those that were in arms and opposed them, but should take the rest alive. However, they slew the aged and infirm as well as those whom they had orders to slay, but as for those that were in the flower of their age, and might be useful to them, they drove them all into the temple, and shut them up within the walls of the court of the women; and Titus set as guard over them one of his freedmen, and also Fronto, one of his own friends,

[1] The towers Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne, near the *Jaffa* gate.

which last was to determine every one's fate according to his deserts. And Fronto slew all those that had been seditious and robbers, who were informed against by one another, but chose out the tallest and most beautiful of the young men, and reserved them for Titus' triumph. As for the rest of the multitude that were more than seventeen years old, he put them into bonds, and sent them to the Egyptian mines. Titus also distributed very many among the provinces, that they might be destroyed in the theatres by the sword or by wild beasts.[1] But those that were under seventeen years of age were sold as slaves. Now during the days in which Fronto was adjudicating about these men, eleven thousand perished for want of food, some of whom did not get any food owing to the hatred their guards bore to them, and others would not take it when it was offered them. And corn also ran rather short in proportion to their numbers.

§ 3. Now the number of all those that were captured during the whole war was conjectured to be ninety-seven thousand, and the number of those who perished during the whole siege was eleven hundred thousand. Of these most were Jews, but not inhabitants of Jerusalem. For they had come up from all parts of the country to the feast of Unleavened Bread, and suddenly found themselves meshed in with the war, which density of population first produced a pestilence, and very soon afterwards a famine. And that this city could contain so many people in it, is manifest by the numeration taken under Cestius, who being desirous to inform Nero, who despised our nation, of the number of those in their prime in the city, asked the high priests, if the thing were possible, to number the whole multitude. And they, upon the coming of that feast which is called the Passover, when they slay their sacrifices from the ninth hour till the eleventh, and a company of not less than ten men belongs to every sacrifice (for it is not lawful to feast alone, and many form a company of even twenty), counted the number of sacrifices to be two hundred and fifty-six thousand five hundred. Now this, upon the allowance of ten feasting together, amounts to two million five

[1] That is, either as gladiators, or as bestiarii.

hundred and sixty-five thousand persons that were all pure and holy; for as to those who had the leprosy or gonorrhœa, or women that had their monthly courses, or such as were otherwise defiled, it was not lawful for them to be partakers of this sacrifice, nor indeed for any foreigners either, who came to Jerusalem for worship.

§ 4. Now this vast multitude was indeed collected from various places, but the entire nation was now shut up by fate as in prison, and the Roman army invested the city when it was crowded with men. Accordingly the number of those that perished therein exceeded all the destructions that either men or God ever brought upon the world. For, in the case of those who openly appeared, the Romans slew some of them, and some they carried captive; but others they had to search for underground, when they broke up the ground and slew all they met with. There were also found there more than two thousand dead persons, who had perished partly by their own hands, and partly by one another's hands, but chiefly by the famine. And the stench of the dead bodies was so offensive to those that lit upon them, that many were obliged to go away immediately, while others were so greedy of gain, that they would go in and tread upon the dead bodies that lay on heaps. For a great deal of treasure was found in these caverns, and the hope of gain made every way of getting it esteemed lawful. Many also were now brought out who had been put in prison by the tyrants; for they had not left off their barbarous cruelty even in their utmost need. But God avenged himself upon them both as they deserved; for John and his brothers wanted food in these caverns, and begged that the Romans would now extend to him that right hand which he had often proudly rejected before: and as for Simon, he struggled hard with the distress he was in, till he was forced to surrender, as I shall subsequently relate. He indeed was reserved for Titus' triumph, to be then slain, and John was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. And now the Romans set fire to the extreme parts of the city, and rased the walls to the ground.

CHAP. X.

How whereas the City of Jerusalem had been taken five times before, this was the second time of its utter Destruction.

§ 1.

THUS was Jerusalem taken in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, on the eighth day of the month Gorpiæus. It had been taken five times before, though this was the second time of its utter destruction. For Shishak, the king of Egypt, and after him Antiochus, and after him Pompey, and after them Sossius and Herod, all took the city, but still preserved it; but before them the king of Babylon conquered it, and utterly destroyed it, one thousand four hundred and sixty-eight years and six months after it was built. Now he who first built it was a ruler of the Canaanites, and is in our tongue called The Righteous King,[1] for such he really was; on which account he was the first priest of God, and first built a temple, and called the city Jerusalem, which was formerly called Solyma.[2] However, David, the king of the Jews, ejected the Canaanites, and settled his own people there. It was utterly destroyed by the Babylonians, four hundred and seventy-seven years and six months after David. And from King David, who was first of the Jews who reigned there, to this utter destruction under Titus, were one thousand one hundred and seventy-nine years. And from its first building till this last destruction two thousand one hundred and seventy-seven years elapsed. So neither its great antiquity, nor its vast riches, nor the spread of our nation all over the world, nor the greatness of the veneration paid to it on religious accounts, were sufficient to preserve it from being destroyed. Thus ended the siege of Jerusalem.

[1] Melchizedek. [2] Or Salem.

BOOK VII.

CONTAINING THE INTERVAL OF ABOUT THREE YEARS.—FROM THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS, TO THE SEDITION OF THE JEWS AT CYRENE.

CHAP. I.

How the entire City of Jerusalem was demolished, except three Towers; and how Titus commended his soldiers in a Speech made to them, and distributed rewards to them, and then discharged many of them.

§ 1. NOW as soon as the army had no more people either to slay or plunder, because there remained none to be the objects of their fury (for they would not have spared any, had there remained any more such work to be done), Titus gave orders that they should now demolish the entire city and temple, but should leave as many of the towers standing as were of the greatest eminence, namely, Phasaelus,[1] and Hippicus, and Mariamne, and so much of the wall as enclosed the city on the west. The wall was spared that it might serve as a camp for those who were to be left in garrison there, and the towers were spared to show to posterity what kind of city it was, and how well fortified, which the Roman valour had subdued. But as for all the rest of the compass of the city, it was so thoroughly levelled by those that rased it to the ground, that there was nothing left to make those that came there believe it had ever been inhabited. Such was the end that Jerusalem came to, owing to the madness of those that were for innovations, a city of great magnificence, and of mighty fame among all mankind.

§ 2. Now Titus resolved to leave as a garrison there the tenth legion, and some troops of horse and companies of

[1] 'David's Tower,' near the *Jaffa* gate.

foot. And having entirely completed the war, he was desirous to commend his whole army on account of the great exploits they had performed, and to bestow proper rewards on such as had distinguished themselves. He had therefore a great tribunal made for him in the midst of the place where he had formerly encamped, and stood upon it with his principal commanders about him within hearing of everybody, and told the whole army that he was very much obliged to them for the good-will which they had continually showed to him. He commended them for the ready obedience they had exhibited in the whole war, which obedience had appeared in the many and great dangers which they had courageously undergone, for they had not only thereby augmented themselves their country's power, but had also made it evident to all men, that neither the number of their enemies, nor the strength of their fortresses, nor the size of their cities, nor the rash boldness and brutish savageness of their antagonists, were sufficient at any time to cope with Roman valour, although some of their enemies might have fortune in many respects on their side. He said also that they had put a noble end to this war which had lasted so long. Nor had they wished for anything better when they entered into it. He said also that it was more excellent still, and more for their glory, that all people willingly accepted as governors and administrators of the Roman empire those whom they had chosen for them, and had sent into their countries for that purpose, and still continued under the administration of those whom they had selected, and were thankful to them for selecting them. He also said that he admired and loved them all, because he knew that every one of them had exhibited zeal to the utmost extent of their ability. However, he said he would immediately bestow rewards and honours on those who had fought the most bravely, and adorned their lives by their glorious deeds, and had made his army more famous by their success, for no one who had been willing to take more pains than another should fail to receive a just return. For he attached great importance to this matter, since he would much rather reward the virtues of his fellow-soldiers than punish such as had offended.

§ 3. Thereupon Titus ordered those whose business it was to read out the list of all that had performed great exploits in the war. He next called them to him by their names, and praised them as they came up to him, and rejoiced in them as a man would have rejoiced in his own exploits, and put on their heads crowns of gold, and golden ornaments about their necks, and gave them long spears of gold, and standards that were made of silver, and gave every one of them promotion. Moreover, he plentifully distributed among them, out of the spoil and other booty they had taken, silver and gold and garments. And when they had had all these honours bestowed on them, according to his decision in regard to each one, and he had wished all sorts of happiness to the whole army, he came down from his tribunal amidst great acclamations, and betook himself to offering thank-offerings for victory, and sacrificed a vast number of oxen that stood ready at the altars, and distributed them among the army to feast on. And when he had feasted three days with the principal commanders, he sent away the rest of his army to the several places where they would be each best quartered, but permitted the tenth legion to garrison Jerusalem, and did not send them back to the Euphrates, where they had been before. And as he remembered that the twelfth legion had been beaten by the Jews, under Cestius, as their general, he expelled them out of all Syria (for they had been stationed formerly at Raphanææ),[1] and sent them away to a place called Meletine,[2] near the Euphrates, on the confines of Armenia and Cappadocia. He also thought fit that two of the legions, the fifth and the fifteenth, should attend upon him till he should go to Egypt. He then went down with his army to Cæsarea[3] by the sea-side, and there stored up the bulk of his spoils, and gave orders that the captives should be kept there; for the winter season hindered sailing for Italy.

[1] Now *Rafaniyeh*, in Syria, at north end of Lebanon. Jewish War, vii. 5, § 1.

[2] *Malátia.*

[3] *Kaisariyeh.*

CHAP. II.

How Titus exhibited all sorts of Shows at Cæsarea Philippi. Also how Simon the Tyrant was taken, and reserved for Titus' Triumph.

§ 1.

NOW at the time when Titus Cæsar was busy in the siege of Jerusalem, Vespasian went on board a merchant ship, and sailed from Alexandria to Rhodes.[1] From thence he sailed away in ships with three rows of oars, and was joyfully received at all the cities that he touched at that lay on his road, and so passed over from Ionia into Greece; whence he set sail from Corcyra[2] to the Iapygian promontory,[3] whence he took his journey by land. But Titus marched from Cæsarea by the sea-side, and arrived at what is called Cæsarea Philippi,[4] and stayed there a considerable time, and exhibited all sorts of shows there. And here a great number of the captives were destroyed, some being thrown to wild beasts,[5] and others in companies forced to fight with one another.[6] And here Titus was informed of the capture, in the following manner, of Simon, the son of Gioras. This Simon, during the siege of Jerusalem, was in the upper city, but when the Roman army had got within the walls, and was ravaging all the city, he then took the most faithful of his friends with him, and among them some that were stone-cutters, with the iron tools which belonged to their occupation, and as many provisions as would last for many days, and let himself and all of them down into a certain subterraneous cavern that was not visible above ground. Now they went onward along it as far as it had been dug of old, and where they met with solid earth, they dug a mine under ground, in the hope that they should be able to proceed so far as to emerge from under ground in a safe place, and so escape. But

[1] Jewish War, i. 14, § 3. [2] *Corfu.*
[3] *Capo Santa Maria di Leuca*, at south-east point of Italy.
[4] *Baniás.* Jewish War, i. 21, § 3.
[5] Called bestiarii.
[6] As gladiators, a common show among the Romans.

when they came to make the experiment, they were disappointed of their hope; for the miners could make but small progress, and that only with difficulty, and their provisions, although they distributed them by measure, began to fail. And now Simon, thinking he might be able to elude the Romans by frightening them, put on white raiment, and buttoned over it a purple cloak, and appeared out of the ground in the place where the temple had formerly been.[1] At first indeed those that saw him were greatly terrified, and stood still where they were, but afterwards they came nearer to him, and asked him who he was. Now Simon would not tell them this, but bade them call for their general. And when they quickly ran to fetch him, Terentius Rufus, who was left in command of the army, learned of Simon the whole truth, and kept him in bonds, and let Titus know that he was taken. Thus did God bring Simon to justice at the hands of those who were his worst enemies, for the bitter and savage tyranny he had exercised against his fellow-citizens, not getting into their power by violence, but having voluntarily delivered himself up to be punished, because he had falsely accused many Jews of intending to go over to the Romans, and had in consequence barbarously slain them. For wicked actions do not escape the divine anger, nor is justice weak, but at last overtakes those who transgress its laws, and inflicts punishment so much the more severe upon the wicked, because they expect to escape it because of their not being punished immediately. Simon recognized this when he fell under the wrath of the Romans. And his coming up out of the ground caused the discovery of a great number of others of the seditious also who had hidden themselves under ground in those days. As for Simon, he was brought in bonds to Titus, when he had returned to Cæsarea by the sea-side; and he gave orders that he should be reserved for the triumph which he intended to celebrate at Rome.

[1] The passage by which Simon reached the Temple area was probably that discovered by Sir Charles Warren, beneath David Street.

CHAP. III.

How Titus, upon the Celebration of His Brother's and Father's Birth-days, had many of the Jews slain. Also concerning the Danger the Jews were in at Antioch, because of the Transgression and Impiety of one Antiochus a Jew.

§ 1.

WHILE Titus was staying at Cæsarea, he kept the birth-day of his brother[1] in a splendid manner, and inflicted condign punishment on many of the Jews in his honour. For the number of those who were now slain in fighting with beasts, or were burnt alive, or killed in fighting with one another,[2] exceeded two thousand five hundred. Yet all this seemed to the Romans, though they were thus destroyed in ten thousand various ways, to be a punishment beneath their deserts. After this Titus went to Berytus[3] (which is a city in Phœnice, and a Roman colony), and stayed there somewhat longer, and exhibited on his father's birth-day shows more splendid still, both from the magnificence of the spectacles, and the vast expense of the various devices. And the mass of the captives perished then in the same manner as on Domitian's birth-day.

§ 2. It happened also about this time, that the Jews who remained at Antioch[4] were under accusations, and in danger of destruction, as the city of Antioch was excited against them, both because of the slanders spread abroad at this time against them, and because of what had happened there not long before; which I am obliged to describe briefly, that I may make my account of what passed after this easier to understand.

§ 3. As the Jewish nation is widely dispersed over all the world among its various inhabitants, so is it peculiarly prevalent in Syria because of its proximity, and it was espe-

[1] Domitian.
[2] See note on ch. ii. See also book vi. ch. ix. § 2.
[3] *Beirût.*
[4] Antioch, on the Orontes, in Syria.

cially numerous in Antioch, because of the size of that city, and because the kings after Antiochus had granted them secure habitation there. For though Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, devastated Jerusalem and spoiled the temple, yet those who succeeded him in the kingdom restored all the votive offerings that were made of brass to the Jews of Antioch, and placed them in their synagogue, and granted them the enjoyment of equal privileges with the Greeks as citizens. And as the succeeding kings treated them in the same manner, they greatly multiplied, and gloriously adorned their temple with fine ornaments and very costly votive offerings, and also made proselytes of a great many of the Greeks continually, and so in a sort made them part of themselves. But about the time when the Jewish war began, and Vespasian had recently sailed to Syria, and the hatred against the Jews was at its acme among all men, a certain person, whose name was Antiochus, who was one of the Jewish nation, and greatly respected on account of his father (who was governor of the Jews at Antioch),[1] entered the theatre when the people of Antioch were assembled together, and came forward as an informer against his father, and accused both him and the other Jews of intending to burn the whole city in one night; he also handed over to them some foreign Jews as privy to the design. When the people heard this, they could not restrain their anger, but commanded that those who were handed over to them should have fire brought to burn them, and accordingly they were all burnt in the theatre immediately. They also rushed violently upon the Jewish population, supposing that by punishing them quickly they would save their own city. As for Antiochus, he increased the rage they were in, and thought to give them a proof of his own conversion, and of his hatred of the Jewish customs, by sacrificing after the manner of the Greeks; he urged them also to compel the rest of the Jews to do the same, because they would by that means discover who they were that had

[1] The Jews at Antioch and Alexandria, the two principal cities in all the East, had allowed them, both by the Macedonians, and afterwards by the Romans, a governor of their own, who was exempt from the jurisdiction of the other civil governors. He was called sometimes governor, sometimes ethnarch, and [at Alexandria] Alabarch.—W.

plotted against them, since they would refuse to do so; and when the people of Antioch tried the experiment, some few complied, and those that would not were slain. As for Antiochus himself, he obtained soldiers from the Roman governor, and became a severe despot over his own citizens, not permitting them to rest on the seventh day, but forcing them to do all that they usually did on other days; and so strict did he make that necessity, that the rest of the seventh day was annulled not only at Antioch, but, the habit beginning there, in other cities also in like manner for a short time.

§ 4. Now, after these misfortunes had happened to the Jews at Antioch, a second calamity befell them, the description of which I was about to give when I made the late digression. For when it happened that the square market-place was burnt down, and the archives, and the place where the public records were preserved, and the town-hall (and it was not without difficulty that a stop was then put to the fire, which was likely, from the violent way in which it spread, to have consumed the whole city), Antiochus accused the Jews of doing this, and induced the people of Antioch (who were now very soon persuaded, because of the alarm they were in, that this calumny was true, and would have been under the same persuasion, even though they had not had ill-will to the Jews before), to believe his accusation, especially when they considered what had happened before, so that, as if they had all but seen the Jews bringing fire against them, they all fell violently upon those that were accused, like madmen in a very furious rage. Nor was it without difficulty that one Cnæus Collega, the imperial lieutenant, could prevail upon them to permit the matter to be laid before the emperor. For as to Cæsennius Pætus, the president of Syria, Vespasian had already despatched him, but he had not yet arrived. Now when Collega had made a careful inquiry into the matter, he found out the truth, that [1] not one of those Jews that were accused by Antiochus had any hand in it, but that it was all done by some vile wretches greatly in debt, who supposed that, if they could once set fire to the market-place, and burn the public

[1] I read ὡς for καὶ. See my note on Antiq. xvii. 9, § 4.

records, they would have no further demands made upon them. So the Jews were in great alarm and terror, in the uncertain expectation of what would be the upshot of these accusations against them.

CHAP. IV.

How Vespasian was received at Rome, as also how the Germans revolted from the Romans, but were subdued. Also how the Sarmatians overran Mœsia, but were compelled to return to their own country again.

§ 1.

AND now Titus Cæsar, upon the news that was brought him concerning his father, that his arrival was very welcome to all the Italian cities, and that Rome especially received him with great loyalty and pomp, betook himself to much joy and pleasure of mind, being now freed from the anxiety he had been in about him in the most agreeable manner. For all men that were in Italy showed the respect they had in their minds to Vespasian while he was still a long way off, as if he were already come, considering the very expectation they had of him to be his real presence, because of the great desire they had to see him, and because the good-will they bore him was entirely spontaneous and natural. For to the senate, who well remembered the calamities they had undergone in the late changes of their emperors, it was a desirable thing to receive one who was adorned with the gravity of age, and with the greatest fame as a military commander, whose advancement would be, they knew, for nothing else but the safety of those that were under his rule. And the people had been so harassed by civil dissensions, that they were still more earnest for his coming, supposing they would then be certainly delivered from their calamities, and believing they should recover security and prosperity. As for the soldiers, they looked to him especially, for they knew best his great exploits in war; and since they had experienced want of skill and want of courage in other emperors, they were

desirous to be freed from the great shame such had brought, and longed to receive the only emperor who could be a security and credit to them: And as this good-will to Vespasian was universal, those men that were eminent for rank had not patience enough to wait for him at Rome, but made haste to meet him at a very great distance from it. And, indeed, none of the rest could endure delay in seeing him, but all poured out of the city *en masse*, and it seemed to all easier and more convenient to go out than to stay there, so that this was the very first time that Rome gladly perceived itself almost empty of its citizens; for those that remained in it were fewer than those that went out. And as soon as news came that he was approaching, and those that had gone on to meet him related with what good humour he received every one that came to him, the whole population that had remained in the city, with their wives and children, lined the road to see him pass, and those whom he passed by all made all sorts of acclamations because of the joy they felt at seeing him, and the graciousness of his countenance, and hailed him as their benefactor and saviour, and the only person who was worthy to be emperor of Rome. And the whole city was like a temple, full of garlands and sweet odours. Nor was it easy for him to reach the imperial palace for the crowd of people that stood about him, but at last he performed his sacrifices of thanksgiving to his household gods for his safe return to the city. The multitudes then betook themselves to feasting, and celebrated their feasts by their tribes and families and neighbourhoods, and prayed God not without libations to grant that Vespasian, and his sons, and all their posterity, might continue in the Roman empire for a very long time, without their position being contested. So joyfully did the city of Rome receive Vespasian, and advanced immediately into a state of great prosperity.

§ 2. But before this time, while Vespasian was still at Alexandria, and Titus was employed in the siege of Jerusalem, a large body of the Germans rose in rebellion, and as the Gauls in the neighbourhood joined with them, they conspired together, and had great hopes of success, and that they should free themselves from the dominion of the Romans. The motives that induced the Germans

to engage in this revolt, and to begin war, were first the nature of the people, which was destitute of just reasoning, and ready to venture into danger with small hope of advantage, and next the hatred they bore to their masters, as their nation had never known compulsory subjection to any but the Romans. But it was the opportunity that now offered itself that most encouraged them. For as they saw the Roman empire in great internal disorder from the continual changes of its emperors, and heard that every part of the world under the Romans was in an unsettled and tottering condition, they thought this was the best opportunity that could offer itself for them to rise against the Romans when their affairs were at so bad a pass. Classicus also and Vitellius, two of their commanders, were the instigators of this rising, and puffed them up with these hopes. These two men had for a long time plainly been desirous of such a revolution, and were encouraged by the present opportunity to venture upon declaring their sentiments: and as the nation was well affected to the idea they intended to make the attempt. Now when a great part of the Germans had already agreed to rebel, and the rest were no better disposed, Vespasian, as if guided by divine providence, sent letters to Petilius Cerealis, who had formerly had the command of Germany, giving him the rank of consul, and commanding him to depart to the government of Britain. So he set out where he was ordered to go, and when he heard *en route* of the revolt of the Germans, he put his army in battle-array, and fell upon them as soon as they were concentrated, and slew a great number of them in the fight, and forced them to leave off their madness and grow wiser. But had he not come thus quickly to the spot, it would not have been long before they would have been brought to punishment. For as soon as ever the news of their revolt reached Rome, and Cæsar Domitian heard of it, he made no delay in spite of his age, for he was very young, but undertook this weighty affair, for he inherited the courage of his father, and was better trained in the art of war than his youth would have led one to infer, so he marched against the barbarians immediately. And their hearts failed them at the very rumour of his approach, and they submitted to him from fear, and thought it a gain

to be brought under their old yoke again without suffering any further calamities. And when Domitian had put all the affairs of Gaul into such good order, that they would not be easily thrown into disorder any more, he returned to Rome with honour and glory, having performed such exploits as were above his own age, and would have thrown lustre even on his father.

§ 3. At the very same time as the forementioned revolt of the Germans, did the bold attempt of the Scythians against the Romans take place. These Scythians, who are called Sarmatians, and are a very numerous people, crossed the Ister into Mœsia[1] without being observed, and then with much violence, being formidable by their entirely unexpected assault, slew a great many of the Romans that guarded the frontiers, and when the consular legate Fonteius Agrippa came to meet them, and fought courageously against them, he was slain by them. They then overran all the region that had been under him, ravaging and devastating everything that fell in their way. But when Vespasian was informed of what had happened, and how Mœsia was laid waste, he despatched Rubrius Gallus to punish these Sarmatians, and he slew many of them in the battles he fought against them, and the remnant that escaped fled with fear to their own country. And when the general had put an end to the war, he provided for the future security of the country also; for he placed more and larger garrisons in the place, till he made it altogether impossible for the barbarians to cross over the river any more. Thus this war in Mœsia had a quick conclusion.

[1] A Roman province in Europe, corresponding nearly with Servia and Bulgaria.

CHAP. V.

Concerning the Sabbatic River, which Titus saw as he was journeying through Syria; and how the People of Antioch came with a Petition to Titus against the Jews, but were rejected by him: also concerning Titus' and Vespasian's Triumph.

§ 1.

NOW Titus Cæsar tarried some time at Berytus,[1] as I said before, and then removed thence and gave magnificent shows in all the cities of Syria through which he went, and exhibited the captive Jews as proof of the destruction of that nation. He saw on his march a river[2] of such a nature as deserves to be recorded in history. It runs between Arcæa,[3] which is part of Agrippa's kingdom, and Raphanæa,[4] and has something very wonderful and peculiar in it. For when it runs, its current is strong, and has plenty of water; after which its springs fail for six days together, and leave its channel dry, as any one may see. After this it runs on the seventh day as it did before, and as though it had undergone no change at all, and it has been observed to keep this order perpetually and exactly: whence they call it the Sabbatic River,[5] so naming it from the sacred sabbath of the Jews.

§ 2. Now when the people of Antioch were informed that Titus was approaching, they could not keep within their walls for joy, but hastened away to meet him, and went as far as thirty furlongs and more with that intention, and not men only, but a multitude of women also and

[1] *Beirût.*

[2] The stream running from the intermittent spring *Fouwár ed-Deir*, in the Lebanon.

[3] *'Arka.* [4] Jewish War, vii. 1, § 3.

[5] Since in these later ages, this Sabbatic river, once so famous, which, by Josephus' account here, ran every seventh day, and rested on six, but according to Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxxi. 11, ran perpetually on six days, and rested every seventh (though it no way appears by either of their accounts that the seventh day of this river was the Jewish seventh day, or Sabbath), is quite vanished, I shall add no more about it; only see Dr. Hudson's note.—W.

children, poured out of the city. And when they saw him coming up to them, they lined both sides of the road, and stretched out their right hands, saluting him, and making all sorts of acclamations to him, and turned back with him. They also besought him all the time, among all the acclamations they made to him, to eject the Jews from their city. But Titus did not give any assent to this petition, but merely listened to it in silence. However, the Jews were in a great and terrible fright from the uncertainty they were in as to what his opinion was, and how he intended to act in regard to them. For Titus did not stay at Antioch, but continued his journey immediately to Zeugma,[1] which lies on the Euphrates, where messengers came to him from Vologesus, king of Parthia, and brought him a crown of gold for the victory he had gained over the Jews; which he accepted, and feasted the king's messengers, and then returned to Antioch. And when the senate and people of Antioch requested him frequently to come into their theatre, where the whole multitude were assembled and expected him, he graciously complied with their request. But when they pressed him again with much earnestness, and continually begged of him, to eject the Jews from their city, he gave them the following very pertinent answer: "How can this be done, since that country of theirs, where the Jews would then be obliged to retire to, is destroyed, and no other place will now receive them?" Thereupon the people of Antioch, having failed in their first request, made him a second; for they begged that he would order those tablets of brass, on which the Jews' privileges were engraven, to be removed. However, Titus would not grant that either, but permitted the Jews of Antioch to continue to enjoy the very same privileges in that city which they had before, and then departed for Egypt. And as he came to Jerusalem on his route, and compared the melancholy desolation he saw it now in with the ancient glory of the city, and considered the greatness of its present ruins as well as its ancient splendour, he pitied the destruction of the city, so far was he from boasting that he had taken by storm so great and goodly a city; nay, he

[1] On the Euphrates, opposite *Birejik*, the ancient Apamea.

frequently cursed those that had been the authors of the revolt, and had brought such a punishment upon the city, so that it plainly appeared, that he did not desire that his renown should be founded on such a calamity as this punishment of theirs. Now there was still found among its ruins no small quantity of the riches that had been in the city, for though the Romans had dug up a great deal, yet more was discovered by the information of those who were captives. And so the Romans carried off gold and silver, and the rest of the most precious things which the Jews had, which their owners had treasured up under ground against the uncertain fortunes of war.

§ 3. And Titus went on with his intended journey to Egypt, and travelled over the desert very quickly, and arrived at Alexandria, and resolved to sail for Italy. And as he had been accompanied by two legions, he sent each of them again to the places where they had come from, the fifth to Mœsia,[1] and the fifteenth to Pannonia.[2] As for the leaders of the captives, Simon and John, and the other seven hundred men, whom he had selected out of the rest as being eminently tall and handsome in body, he gave orders that they should forthwith be transported to Italy, intending to exhibit them in his triumph. And after a prosperous voyage, the people of Rome received and met him just as they had his father. But what was the most splendid welcome to Titus was his father's meeting him, and receiving him. And the crowd of citizens felt the greatest joy when they saw all three princes together,[3] as they did at this time. Nor had many days elapsed, when they determined to have but one triumph, that should be common to both Vespasian and Titus, on account of the glorious exploits they had performed, although the senate had decreed each of them a separate triumph. And when notice had been given beforehand of the day appointed for the splendid triumphal procession on account of their victories, not one of the immense multitude was left in the city; but every body went out and occupied every place where they might but stand, and left only such room as

[1] Jewish War, vii. 4, § 3.
[2] Jewish War, iv. 10, § 6.
[3] Vespasian and his two sons, Titus and Domitian.—W.

was necessary for those who were to be the observed of all observers in the triumphal procession.

§ 4. Now, while it was still night, all the soldiers marched out in companies, and in their several ranks, under their several commanders, and stationed themselves near the doors, not of the upper palace, but near the temple of Isis; for it was there that the emperors had rested that night. And as soon as ever it was day, Vespasian and Titus came out crowned with laurel, and clothed in the purple robes customary to emperors, and then went as far as Octavia's Walks; for there the senate, and the principal magistrates, and those that belonged to the equestrian order, waited for their arrival. Now a tribunal had been erected before the porticoes, and ivory chairs had been set upon it, and they came and sat down upon them, whereupon the soldiers made acclamations of joy immediately, and all gave them many attestations of valour. And they were without their arms, and only clad in silken garments, and crowned with laurel. And Vespasian graciously accepted these acclamations of theirs, but as they were still disposed to go on with such acclamations, he made them a sign to be silent. And when silence reigned in the entire assembly, he stood up, and covering most of his head in his cloak, put up the accustomed prayers; and Titus did the same. And after these prayers Vespasian made a short speech to all the people, and then sent the soldiers away to the usual dinner prepared for them by the emperors; and retired himself to the gate which was called the gate of Triumph, because triumphal processions always passed through it. They there tasted some food, and when they had put on their triumphal garments, and had offered sacrifices to the gods whose statues were at the gate, they went on with the triumph, and marched through the theatres, that they might the more easily be seen by the multitudes.

§ 5. It is impossible to describe adequately the multitude of the shows, and the magnificence of them in all things such as man could devise, either by the labour of workmen, or the variety of riches, or the rarities of nature. For almost all such curiosities, both admirable and costly, as the most fortunate men ever got by piece-

meal, were here heaped one upon another, and all brought together on that day, showing the vastness of the empire of the Romans. For there was here to be seen a mighty quantity of articles of all kinds in silver and gold and ivory, not as if carried in the triumphal procession only, but, as a man might say, like a running stream. Some hangings of the rarest purple were carried along, and others accurately represented to the life what was embroidered by the art of the Babylonians. There were also precious stones that were transparent, some set in crowns of gold, and others of other workmanship, and such a vast number of these were brought, that we could not but see how erroneous our idea was that any of them were rare. Images of the gods were also carried, as wonderful for their size as artistic and finished in their workmanship; nor were any of these images made of any other than very costly material. And many species of animals were exhibited, all with their own natural ornaments. The numerous men also who introduced each of these shows were adorned with purple and gilt garments, and those who were chosen to conduct the triumphal procession were dressed in a very striking and costly way. Moreover, one could see that even the crowd of captives was not unadorned, while the variety and beauty of their garments concealed from sight any deformity of their bodies arising from their hardships. But what afforded the greatest admiration of all, was the structure of the pageants that were borne along; for indeed he that met them could not but be afraid that the bearers would not be able adequately to support them, such was their size. For many of them were three or even four stories high, and the magnificence of their structure excited both pleasure and astonishment; for upon many of them was laid cloth of gold, and wrought gold and ivory were attached to all of them. And various episodes in the war by many representations conveyed a very clear picture of what war was like. For there might be seen a fertile country laid waste, and entire armies of enemies slain, and some running away, and others being carried into captivity, and walls of great thickness knocked down by battering-rams, and strong fortifications taken, and the walls of populous cities upon the tops of hills scaled, and an army pouring in over the

walls, and every place full of slaughter, and the supplications of those who could no longer lift up their hands in opposition, and fire put to temples, and houses overthrown and falling upon their owners, and rivers, after passing through a large and melancholy desert, flowing not into a land cultivated, or furnishing drink for men or cattle, but through a land still on fire on every side. For the Jews had given themselves to war to undergo such things. Now the artistic magnificence of these representations was so good, that it exhibited what had taken place to those who were ignorant of the facts, as if they had been really present there. On the top of every one of these pageants was placed the commander of the city that had been taken, just as he was captured. Many ships also followed. Other spoils were also carried in the procession in great plenty, but those that were taken in the temple of Jerusalem made the greatest figure of them all, namely, a golden table which weighed many talents, and a candlestick likewise made of gold, though its construction was somewhat different from that in use among us. For its middle branch was fixed upon a pedestal, and small branches came out of it, like a trident in appearance, and each having a lamp of brass on its top. There were seven of these lamps, which represented the honour paid to the number seven by the Jews. And last of all the spoils, was carried the law of the Jews. After these spoils passed many men, carrying images of victory, all made of ivory and gold. Behind these rode Vespasian first, and Titus followed him; Domitian also rode with them, himself also splendidly dressed and mounted on a handsome horse.

§ 6. The end of the procession was at the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and when they reached it they halted; for it was the ancient custom to stay there till somebody brought the news, that the general of the enemy was slain. This general was Simon, the son of Gioras, who had now been led in triumph among the captives; a rope had also been thrown round him, and he had been dragged into a place over the forum, where the law of the Romans required that malefactors condemned to death should be slain, and he had also been scourged by those that dragged him along. And when it was reported that there was an end

of him, and all the people had shouted for joy, they then began to offer the sacrifices which they consecrated by the accustomed prayers, and then went away to the palace. And the emperors entertained some at their own feast, and for all the rest there were noble preparations made for their feasting at home. For the city of the Romans celebrated this day as a festival for the victory obtained by their army over their enemies, and for the end of their own intestine dissensions, and for the commencement of their hopes of future happiness.

§ 7. After these triumphs were over, and after the Roman empire was settled on the surest foundation, Vespasian resolved to build a temple to Peace, which he finished in a very short time, and in a manner beyond all human expectation. For bestowing his vast wealth upon it, besides what he had formerly gained in his other successes, he had this temple adorned with pictures and statues. And all such rarities were collected and deposited in this temple, as men before used to wander all over the world to see, when they had a desire to see one of them after another. He also deposited in it the golden vessels that were taken out of the Jewish temple, and was very proud of them. And he gave orders that they should place their law, and the purple veils of the sanctuary, in the royal palace, and keep them there.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning Machærus, and how Lucilius Bassus took that Fortress and other Places.

§ 1.

NOW Lucilius Bassus was sent out as imperial legate to Judæa, and there he received the army from Cerealis Vitellianus, and made himself master of the fortress of Herodium [1] and the garrison that held it: after which he got together all the soldiers available (for many were distributed about the country) and the tenth legion, and

[1] *Jebel Furcidis.* Jewish War, i. 13, § 8.

resolved to march against Machærus.[1] For it was quite necessary that that fortress should be demolished, lest it might draw away many into rebellion because of its strength: for the nature of the place was very capable of affording sure hope of safety to those who held it, and delay and fear to those who attacked it. For what was defended by a fort was itself a rocky hill, rising to a very great height, which circumstance alone made it very difficult to capture it. It was also so contrived by nature, that it could not be easily approached; for it is intrenched by ravines on all sides, so deep that the eye cannot reach their bottoms, nor are they easy to cross over, and it is quite impossible to fill them up with earth. For the ravine which hems it in on the west extends threescore furlongs, and does not end till the lake Asphaltitis[2] (and it is on the same side also that Machærus has its highest peak elevated above the rest); and although the ravines that lie on the north and south sides are not so large as that just described, yet it is similarly impracticable to think of storming them. As for the ravine that lies on the east side, its depth is found to be no less than a hundred cubits, and it extends as far as a mountain that lies opposite Machærus.

§ 2. Now Alexander the king of the Jews, having observed the nature of this place, was the first who built a fortress there, which was afterwards demolished by Gabinius, when he warred against Aristobulus. But when Herod came to be king, he thought the place to be worthy of the utmost regard, and of being fortified in the strongest manner, especially as it lay so near to Arabia: for it is situated conveniently in respect to that country which it faces. He therefore surrounded a large space of ground with walls and towers, and built a city there, from which a way led up to the very top of the hill. Moreover, he built a wall round the top of the hill, and erected towers a hundred and sixty cubits high at the angles. And in the middle of this walled area he built a magnificent palace, wherein were large and beautiful rooms. He also made a great many cisterns to hold water, that there might be a

[1] *Mekaur.* Jewish War, i. 8, § 2. [2] The Dead Sea.

plentiful supply in the most fit places, as if having a friendly contest with nature, that he might make the natural strength of the place, which made it hard to be taken, still greater by defences made by the hands of men. Moreover, he put a large quantity of darts and other engines of war into it, and contrived to store up every thing there that might enable its inhabitants to stand a very long siege.

§ 3. Now in this palace there grew a sort of rue, that deserves our wonder on account of its size, for it was as large as any fig-tree both in height and thickness; and the report went that it had lasted ever since the times of Herod, and it would probably have lasted much longer had it not been cut down by the Jews who occupied the place afterwards. And in the ravine which surrounds the city on the north side, there is a certain place called Baaras,[1] which produces a root of the same name as itself. Its colour is like that of fire, and towards evening it sends out a ray like lightning, and is not easily taken by such as approach it and wish to take it, but recedes from their hands, and is not stationary until either a woman's urine or menstruous blood be poured upon it; nay, even then it is certain death to those that touch it, unless one take and hang the root itself down from the hand, and so carry it away. It is also taken another way without danger, namely, as follows. Persons dig quite round it, till the hidden part of the root is very small; they then tie a dog to it, and when the dog starts to follow the person that tied him, the root is easily plucked up; but the dog dies immediately, as if a victim instead of the man that would take the plant away. Nor after this need any one be afraid of taking it into his hands. Yet after all this risk in getting it, it is only sought after on account of one property it has, that if it be only brought to sick persons, it quickly drives away those who are called demons (who are no other than the spirits of the wicked) that enter into men that are alive, and kill them, unless they can obtain some help against them. There are also springs of hot water that flow out of this place, which have a very different taste from one

[1] In the *Wâdy Zerka Ma'in*, on the east shore of the Dead Sea.

another: for some of them are bitter, and others of them are very sweet. Cold waters also gush out frequently, and have their springs near one another, not only on the more level ground, but what is still more wonderful, there is to be seen a certain cave hard by of no great depth, covered over by a rock that juts out; and above this rock there stand out two small round [hills like] breasts, a little distant from one another, one of which sends out a fountain that is very cold, and the other sends out one that is very hot; and these waters, when mixed together, form a most pleasant bath, medicinal indeed in other complaints, but especially good for strengthening the nerves. This place also contains mines of sulphur and alum.

§ 4. Now when Bassus had made a complete reconnaissance of the fortress, he resolved to make his approach to it by filling up the ravine on the east side; so he fell hard to work, and took great pains to raise the earth as soon as possible, and so to make the storm of the place easy. As for the Jews who were shut up inside the place, they separated themselves from the strangers that were with them, and forced these strangers, as they considered them a merely useless multitude, to stay in the lower city, and bear the brunt of danger first, while they themselves occupied the upper citadel, and held it, both on account of its great strength, and to provide for their own safety; for they thought they might obtain their pardon if they surrendered the fortress eventually to the Romans. However, they wished to make trial first whether the hopes they had of escaping a siege were feasible. So they energetically made sallies every day, and fought with those that met them, in which conflicts many of them were slain, and they also slew many of the Romans. But still it was opportunity that chiefly gained both sides their victories, they were gained by the Jews, when they fell upon the Romans as they were off their guard, and by the Romans when, upon the Jews' sallies against their banks, they foresaw their coming, and were upon their guard to receive them. But the conclusion of the siege did not depend upon these skirmishes; but a certain unexpected chance event forced the Jews to surrender the fortress. There was a certain young man among the besieged, of great boldness, and very

active with his hand, whose name was Eleazar. He greatly distinguished himself in the sallies, and encouraged the Jews to go out in great numbers, in order to hinder the raising of the banks, and did the Romans a great deal of hurt when it came to fighting, and for those who were bold enough to sally out with him he made their attack easy, and caused their retreat to be without danger by still bringing up the rear himself. Now it happened on one occasion, when the fight was over, and both sides had retired, that he, despising the enemy, and thinking that none of them would begin the fight again at that time, stayed outside the gates, and talked a long time to those that were upon the wall, and his mind was wholly intent upon them. Now a certain person belonging to the Roman camp, whose name was Rufus, by birth an Egyptian, observed his opportunity, and ran at him suddenly, when nobody expected such a thing, and snatched him up armour and all, while those that saw it from the wall were in such consternation, that Rufus carried Eleazar off to the Roman camp before they could stop him. And the general of the Romans ordered that he should be hoisted up naked, and set before the city so as to be seen by all the citizens, and severely scourged before their eyes.. At this sad event that befell the young man the Jews were terribly confounded, and the whole city sorely lamented him, and the wailing was greater than one would have expected at the calamity of a single person. When Bassus perceived that, he began to think of using a stratagem against the enemy, and wished to heighten their grief, in order to prevail upon them to surrender the city for Eleazar's safety, nor did he fail of his hope. For he commanded them to set up a cross, as if he were just going to crucify Eleazar immediately. And the sight of this occasioned still greater grief among those that were in the fortress, and they groaned aloud, and cried out that they could not bear to see his tragic end. Thereupon Eleazar besought them not to allow him to suffer the most wretched of deaths, and exhorted them to save themselves by yielding to the Roman power and fortune, as all other people had been now conquered by them. And they were greatly moved by what he said, there being also many within the city that interceded for him (for he was of an

eminent and very numerous family), so they now yielded to compassion contrary to their usual custom. Accordingly they quickly sent out certain messengers, and treated with the Romans about the surrender of the fortress, and desired that they might be permitted to go away safe, and take Eleazar with them. And the Romans and their general accepted these terms, but the multitude of strangers in the lower part of the city, hearing of the agreement that was made by the Jews for themselves alone, resolved to flee away privately in the night. But as soon as they opened the gates, those who had come to terms with Bassus told him of it, whether they envied the others' safety, or whether they acted so from fear, lest the Romans should accuse them of their escape. Now the most courageous of these strangers that went out anticipated the enemy, and broke through and escaped, while those men of them that were taken within were slain, to the number of one thousand seven hundred, and the women and children were made slaves. But as to those that had surrendered the fortress, Bassus thought it right to perform the covenant he had made with them, so he let them go, and restored Eleazar to them.

§ 5. When Bassus had settled these affairs, he pushed on his army to what is called the wood of Jardes, for news was brought him that many of those who had fled from the sieges of Jerusalem and Machærus formerly were concentrated there. When he was therefore come to the place, and perceived that the news was correct, he first surrounded the whole place with his cavalry, that such of the Jews as were bold enough to try to break through might have no possible way of escape because of the cavalry, while he ordered his foot-soldiers to cut down the trees that were in the wood where they had fled. So the Jews were under the necessity of performing some glorious exploit, and of greatly exposing themselves in battle, as they might perhaps so escape. So they rushed forward *en masse*, with a great shout, and fell upon those that surrounded them. And the Romans received them with great courage, and as the one side fought desperately, and the other would not yield, the fight was prolonged on that account, but the issue of the battle was very different to the two armies.

For it so happened, that only twelve fell on the Roman side, while a few were wounded, but of the Jews not one escaped out of this battle, but they were all killed, being no less than three thousand, including Judas, the son of Arus, their general, concerning whom I have before said that he had been a captain of a certain band at the siege of Jerusalem, and by going down into certain underground passages had privately made his escape.

§ 6. About the same time the emperor wrote to Bassus, and to Liberius Maximus (who was the procurator), and gave orders that all the land of the Jews should be sold. For he did not found any city there, but reserved the country for himself; however, to eight hundred men only, whom he had disbanded from his army, he gave for their habitation a place called Emmaus,[1] which is thirty furlongs from Jerusalem. He also laid a tribute upon the Jews wherever they dwelt, and enjoined every one of them to contribute two drachmæ every year to the Capitol, as they used previously to pay the same to the temple at Jerusalem. Such was the state of the Jewish affairs at this time.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning the Calamities that befell Antiochus, King of Commagene. Also concerning the Alani, and what great Hurt they did to the Medes and Armenians.

§ 1.

AND now, in the fourth year of the reign of Vespasian, it came to pass, that Antiochus, the king of Commagene, and all his family, fell into very great calamities on the following account. Cæsennius Pætus, who was president of Syria at this time, whether stating the real truth, or only out of hatred of Antiochus, (for the real motive was never thoroughly discovered,) sent a letter to Vespasian telling him that Antiochus and his son Epiphanes had re-

[1] The distance given agrees with that of *Kulônich* (Colonia) from Jerusalem. This Emmaus is very generally supposed to be the same as the biblical Emmaus (Luke xxiv. 13).

solved to revolt from the Romans, and had made a league with the king of Parthia; and urging that it was necessary to anticipate them, lest, if they got the start of the Romans, they might begin such a war as would cause a general disturbance in the Roman Empire. Now Vespasian was not disposed to neglect the matter, as this information reached him; for the neighbourhood of those kings made the matter of greater importance. For Samosata,[1] the capital of Commagene, lies upon the Euphrates, so that the Parthians, had they any such design, could most easily cross over it, and would also have a secure retreat back. Pætus was accordingly believed, and had authority given him to act as he should think proper in the case, so without delay he suddenly marched against Commagene before Antiochus and his people had the least expectation of his coming: having with him the tenth legion, and also some cohorts and troops of horse. The following kings also came to his assistance, Aristobulus, king of the country called Chalcidice,[2] and Sohemus, king of what was called Emesa.[3] Nor was any opposition made to his forces when they entered the kingdom; for none in that country would so much as lift up their hands against them. When Antiochus heard this unexpected news, he could not think in the least of making war upon the Romans, but determined to leave all his kingdom in the state wherein it now was, and to retire privately with his wife and children, thinking thereby to prove himself to the Romans to be innocent of the charge laid against him. So he went a hundred and twenty furlongs from Samosata into the plain, and there encamped.

§ 2. Pætus then sent some of his men to occupy Samosata, and by them took possession of that city, while he went himself to attack Antiochus with the rest of his army. However, the king was not prevailed upon by the necessity he was in to do anything in the way of war against the Romans, but bemoaned his own hard fate, and was for enduring with patience what he had to suffer. But his sons, who were young and inexperienced in war, but of strong bodies, were not easily induced to bear this calamity with-

[1] *Samsat.* Jewish War, i. 16, § 7.
[2] The country of Chalcis, now probably *Mujdel 'Anjar.*
[3] *Homs.*

out fighting. Epiphanes and Callinicus, therefore, betook themselves to force. And as the battle was stoutly contested and lasted all day long, they showed their own valour in a remarkable manner, and nothing but the approach of night put an end to the battle, and that without any diminution of their forces; but Antiochus, although the battle had terminated in this way, did not venture to continue there, but took his wife and daughters, and fled with them to Cilicia, and, by so doing, quite discouraged the spirit of his own soldiers. So they revolted and went over to the Romans, as he despaired of keeping the kingdom, for now the case was looked upon by all as quite desperate. It was therefore necessary that Epiphanes and Callinicus should get safe from their enemies before they became entirely destitute of helpers. Nor were there any more than ten horsemen with them, when they crossed the Euphrates, whence they reached Vologesus, the king of Parthia, in safety, where they were not disregarded as exiles, but had the same respect paid them as if they had retained their ancient prosperity.

§ 3. Now when Antiochus arrived at Tarsus [1] in Cilicia, Pætus despatched a centurion to arrest him, and sent him in bonds to Rome. However, Vespasian could not endure to have the king brought to him in that manner, but thought it fit rather to have regard to their ancient friendship than to preserve an inexorable anger because of this war. So he gave orders, while Antiochus was still upon the road, that they should take off his bonds, and that he should put off his visit to Rome, and for the present go and live at Lacedæmon; he also gave him large revenues, that he might not only live in plenty, but like a king also. Now when Epiphanes and Callinicus, who were before in great fear for their father, were informed of this, their minds were freed from the great concern and anxiety they had been in. They also hoped that Vespasian would be reconciled to them, upon the intercession of Vologesus; for although they lived in plenty, they knew not how to bear living out of the Roman empire. And Vespasian graciously gave them leave, and they went to Rome; and as their father came at once

[1] *Tersûs*, in the province of *Adana*.

to them from Lacedæmon, they had all sorts of respect paid them there, and there they remained.

§ 4. Now the nation of the Alani who (as I said before somewhere) are Scythians, and dwell near the Tanais [1] and the lake Mæotis,[2] formed about this time the design of invading Media and the country beyond it, in order to plunder them. Accordingly they negotiated with the king of the Hyrcani,[3] for he was master of the pass that king Alexander had shut up with iron gates. And as he gave them leave to come through them, they came *en masse*, and fell upon the Medes who expected nothing of the kind, and plundered their country, which was populous and rich in cattle, and nobody durst make any resistance against them. For Pacorus, the king of the country, had fled away for fear into places where they could not easily get at him, and had yielded up every thing he had to them, and had only with difficulty saved his wife and concubines from them, after they had been made captives, by paying a hundred talents for their ransom. These Alani therefore plundered the country with great ease and without opposition, and proceeded as far as Armenia, laying all waste before them. Now Tiridates was king of that country, and he met them and fought them, but was nearly taken alive in the battle; for a certain man threw a net over him from some distance, and would soon have drawn him to him, if he had not quickly cut the cord with his sword, and fled first. And the Alani, being still more provoked by this fight, laid waste the country, and carried off with them a great multitude of men, and a great quantity of other spoil they had got from both kingdoms, and then retired back to their own country.

[1] The *Don*. [2] The *Sea of Asov*.

[3] Hyrcania lay to the south of the Caspian, and is now the Persian province *Mazanderan*.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning Masada, and the Sicarii who held it; and how Silva besieged that Fortress. Eleazar's Speeches to the besieged.

§ 1.

WHEN Bassus had died in Judæa, Flavius Silva succeeded him as governor there; and when he saw that all the rest of the country had been subdued in this war, and that there was only one fortress that was still in revolt, he concentrated all his army that was in those parts, and made an expedition against it. This fortress was called Masada,[1] and the commander of the Sicarii, who occupied it, was one Eleazar, an able man, and a descendant of that Judas who had persuaded no few of the Jews, as I before stated, not to submit to the census, when Cyrenius was sent into Judæa to take it. For it was then that the Sicarii banded together against those who were willing to submit to the Romans, and treated them in all respects as if they had been their enemies, plundering them of what they had, and driving away their cattle, and setting fire to their houses. For they said that they differed not at all from foreigners, as they betrayed so ignobly their freedom which the Jews thought ought to be fought for to the utmost, and owned that they preferred slavery under the Romans. Now this was in reality only a pretext and cloak for their barbarity and avarice, as they afterwards made evident by their actions. For those that were partners with them in their rebellion joined them also with in the war against the Romans, and went further lengths in their audacity against them. And when they were again convicted of dissembling in such pretexts, they still more abused those who justly reproached them for their wickedness. And somehow, indeed, that was a time most fertile in all manner of wicked practices among the Jews, insomuch that no kind of villainy was then left undone; nor could any one so much as devise any bad thing

[1] *Sebbah*, on the west shore of the Dead Sea. Jewish War, i. 12, § 1.

that was new if he wished. So deeply were they all infected both privately and publicly, and vied with one another who should run the greatest lengths in impiety towards God, and in unjust actions towards their neighbours, men in power oppressing the multitude, and the multitude earnestly endeavouring to destroy men in power. The latter desired to tyrannize, and the former to offer violence to and plunder those who were richer than themselves. Now the Sicarii first began this lawlessness and barbarity to their kindred, and left no word of reproach unsaid, or deed undone, to destroy those whom they plotted against. However, John showed by his actions that these Sicarii were more moderate than he was himself. For he not only slew all who counselled him to do what was right and expedient, treating them worst of all, as the most bitter enemies that he had among all the citizens, but also filled his country generally with ten thousand woes, such as a man who was already hardened in impiety towards God would naturally do. For he had unlawful food set upon his table, and rejected the purity that the laws of his country had ordained, so that it was no longer a wonder if he, who was so mad in his impiety towards God, did not observe any gentleness or kindness towards men. Again, what evil did not Simon, the son of Gioras, do? or what kind of abuses did he abstain from as to the persons of those very freemen who had set him up as a tyrant? What friendship or relationship did not make them more bold in their daily murders? For they looked upon doing hurt to strangers as only a work of ignoble villainy, but thought barbarity towards their nearest relations a glorious feat. The Idumæans also vied with these men in their fury. For they, vilest wretches that they were, cut the throats of the high priests, that so no part of piety to God might be preserved, and destroyed utterly every vestige of forms of law, and introduced the most complete lawlessness in all cases, in which the class of people called Zealots excelled, who indeed made their name good by their acts. For they were zealous in every bad work, and if their memory recalled any evil thing that had formerly been done, they did not omit zealously to do the same; and yet they gave themselves their name as if zealous for what was good, either bantering those they

treated ill because of their brutish disposition, or thinking the greatest of evils good. Accordingly, they each had a fitting end, God awarding to them punishment completely adequate to their deserts. For all such chastisements lit upon them as man's nature is capable of undergoing, till the utmost end of their lives, and till death came upon them in various torments. However, one might say that they suffered less than they inflicted, because it was impossible they could be punished quite according to their deserts. But this is not the proper place to make adequate lamentation for those who were the victims of these men's barbarity. I will therefore return again to the remaining part of my narrative.

§ 2. The Roman general then came and led his army against Eleazar and those Sicarii who held the fortress of Masada with him. As for the whole adjacent country he made himself master of it at once, and put garrisons into the most suitable places of it, and built a wall quite round the entire fortress, that none of the besieged could easily escape, and also set his men to guard the several parts of it. He also carefully pitched his camp in the most suitable place for the siege, where the rocks belonging to the fortress were nearest to the neighbouring mountain, though it was indeed a difficult place for getting plenty of provisions. For not only had food to be brought from a great distance with a great deal of exertion on the part of those Jews who were told off for that purpose, but water also had to be brought to the camp, because the place supplied no fountain that was near. When, therefore, Silva had first seen to these matters, he turned his attention to besieging the place, a task which required a great deal of skill and hard work because of the strength of the fortress, the nature of which I will now describe.

§ 3. There was a rock, not small in circumference, and very high, surrounded by ravines of such vast depth that the eye could not reach their bottom, which were precipitous, and such as no animal could climb except at two places in the rock, where it admits of ascent, though not without difficulty. Now, of these two ways one is from the lake Asphaltitis towards the east, and the other, where the ascent is easier, on the west. One of these ways they call

the Serpent,[1] using that comparison because of its narrowness and perpetual windings; for it breaks off where the crags jut out, and returns frequently into itself, and lengthens again by degrees, and proceeds forward not without difficulty. And he that would walk along it must first tread firmly with one foot and then with the other; for to slip is certain destruction; for on each side yawn precipices deep enough to quell all courage by terror. Now when a man has gone along this way for thirty furlongs, what remains is the top of the hill, not ending in a sharp point, but forming table-land as it were on the summit of the hill. Upon this summit Jonathan the high priest first built a fortress and called it Masada. And afterwards the rebuilding of this place employed the care of king Herod to a great degree. For he built a wall made of white stone, seven furlongs long, twelve cubits high, and eight broad, round the entire area of the top of the hill. Thirty-seven towers, each of them fifty cubits high, were also erected upon this wall from which you might pass into chambers built on the inside round the entire wall. For the king reserved the top of the hill, which was rich soil and softer than all the plain, for agriculture, that such as committed themselves for their safety to this fortress, might not even there be quite destitute of food, in case they should ever want it from abroad. He also built a palace thereon at the western ascent, beneath the walls of the fortress, and facing north. Now the wall of this palace was very high and strong, and it had at its corners four towers sixty cubits high. The furniture also of the chambers within and of the porticoes and bath-rooms was of great variety, and very costly, and these buildings were supported by pillars made each of a single stone on every side, and the walls and floors of the chambers were beautified by marble being inlaid. He also cut many deep tanks out of the rocks as reservoirs for water, at every one of the places that were inhabited above and round the palace, and before the wall, and by this contrivance he endeavoured to have as plentiful a supply of water as if there had been

[1] This ascent, which is now in a semi-ruinous condition, is on the east side of the fortress.

fountains there. There was also a road dug from the palace, which led to the very top of the hill, but could not be seen by such as were outside the fortress. Nor indeed could enemies easily make use of the roads they could see. For the road on the east side, as I have already stated, was inaccessible because of its nature; and the western road he blocked up by a large tower at its narrowest place, at no less a distance from the top of the hill than a thousand cubits; which tower could not possibly be passed by, nor could it be easily taken. Indeed those that walked along it without any danger[1] could not, such was its contrivance, easily get to the end of it. So strong was this fortress both by nature and art against the attacks of enemies.

§ 4. As for the various things that were stored up within it, one would wonder still more at their abundance and the time they lasted. For here was laid up corn in great quantity, such as would suffice for a long time, and also wine and oil in abundance; and all kinds of pulse, and dates, were stored up there; all which things Eleazar found there, when he and his Sicarii got possession of the fortress by treachery. These fruits also were in prime condition, and not at all inferior to fruits newly stored up, although it was little short of a hundred years from the storing up of these provisions till the fortress was captured by the Romans. The Romans also found those fruits that were left not at all spoilt. Nor would one be wrong in supposing the air to be the cause of their lasting good so long, as owing to the height of the fortress the air is so free from the mixture of everything earthy and muddy. There was also found here a large quantity of all sorts of weapons of war, which had been stored up by king Herod, sufficient for ten thousand men: there was also unwrought iron and brass, and moreover lead, which show that Herod had taken much pains to have all things ready here for great emergencies. For it is said that he prepared this fortress for himself, as a refuge against two kinds of danger which he anticipated, one from the Jewish people, lest they should depose him, and restore their former kings to the throne, but the other danger was greater and more formidable,

[1] That is, in times of peace.

namely from Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt, who did not conceal her intentions, but spoke often to Antony, asking him to take off Herod, and entreating him to bestow the kingdom of Judæa upon her. And certainly one might wonder that Antony never complied with her imperiousness in this point, as he was such a slave to his passion for her; for one would not have expected that he would not have gratified her in this. However, it was the fear of these dangers that made Herod rebuild Masada, and leave it for the finishing stroke of the Romans in this Jewish war.

§ 5. When the Roman commander Silva had now built a wall outside round the whole fortress, as I have said already, and had so made the most careful provision to prevent any of the besieged escaping, he undertook the siege in person, though he found but one place that would allow of his raising earthworks. For behind the tower which blocked up the road that led to the palace and to the top of the hill from the west, there was a certain rock jutting out, very broad and very prominent, three hundred cubits lower than the summit of Masada, which was called Leuce.[1] So Silva got upon that rock, and ordered the army to bring earth. And as they fell to that work with alacrity, and there were many hands, the bank was solidly raised two hundred cubits high. However, this bank was not thought sufficiently firm and strong to support the scaling ladders, so another embankment of great stones compacted together, fifty cubits both in breadth and height, was put upon it. The structure of the other engines was like that of those that had been first devised for sieges by Vespasian, and afterwards by Titus. There was also a tower constructed sixty cubits high, plated all over with iron, from which the Romans threw missiles and stones from their engines, and soon made those that fought on the wall retire, and prevented their lifting up their heads over it. At the same time Silva constructed a great battering-ram, and ordered it to be frequently applied against the wall, and with some difficulty broke down a part of the wall,

[1] The White Rock, or Promontory, can be readily recognised on the west side of *Sebbeh*, and the bank or causeway raised by Silva during the siege.

and quite overthrew it. However, the Sicarii had anticipated him by having built another wall within, which should not be liable to the same misfortune from the battering-rams as the other: for, it was made soft and yielding, and so was capable of weakening the terrible battering of the ram. It was constructed in the following manner. Great beams were laid lengthways, near one another at their ends: laid at such a distance from each other in two parallel rows as the breadth of the wall required, and earth was put into the space between these rows. Now, that the earth might not fall away upon the elevation of this bank to a greater height, they further bound those beams together that lay lengthways by other beams across them. And so this work of theirs was like a real building. And when the battering-rams were applied, their blows were weakened by its yielding, and as the materials were by such concussion shaken closer together, the wall became firmer than before. When Silva saw this, he thought it best to endeavour to take this wall by setting fire to it, so he gave orders to the soldiers to throw a great number of burning torches against it; and as it was chiefly made of wood, it soon took fire; and when it was once set on fire, its hollowness made the fire spread to a mighty flame. Now at the very beginning of this fire, a north wind that blew was terrible to the Romans; for by bringing the flame down it drove it upon them, and they were almost in despair, fearing their engines would be burnt. But after this suddenly the wind veered round to the south, as if by divine providence, and blew strongly the contrary way, and carried back the flame, and drove it against the wall, which was now on fire from top to bottom. Thus the Romans, being thus divinely assisted, returned to their camp with joy, and resolved to attack their enemies the next day, and set their watch more carefully than usual that night, lest any of the enemy should steal a march on them and escape.

§ 6. However, neither did Eleazar himself once think of fleeing away, nor would he permit any one else to do so. But when he saw their wall burned down by the fire, and could devise no other way of escaping, or opportunity for further exhibition of courage, and set before his eyes what

the Romans would do to them and their children and wives, if they were victorious, he thought about having them all slain. Now, as he judged this the best thing to do in the present circumstances, he got together the most courageous of his companions, and encouraged them to take that course by the following speech. "Since we, long ago, my brave friends, resolved never to be slaves to the Romans, nor to any other than to God himself (who alone is the true and just lord of mankind), the time is now come that obliges us to carry out that resolve in act. And let us not at this crisis bring the reproach upon ourselves that, whereas we would not formerly undergo slavery without danger, we now together with slavery choose such punishments also as will be intolerable, if we fall alive into the power of the Romans. We were the very first of all that revolted from them, and we are the last that fight against them; and I cannot but esteem it as a favour that God has granted us that it is still in our power to die nobly and in a state of freedom, which has not been the case of others who were conquered against their expectation. It is very plain that we shall be captured within a day's time, but we have still the choice to die in a glorious manner with our dearest friends. This our enemies themselves cannot by any means hinder, although they are very desirous to take us alive, nor can we hope any more to fight them and beat them. It was indeed our duty, perhaps, at the very first, when we were so desirous of defending our liberty, and when we received such sore treatment from one another, and worse treatment from our enemies, to have conjectured the purpose of God, and to have recognized that the Jewish nation, of old dear to him, was now doomed to destruction. For had he either continued favourable, or been only in a minor degree displeased with us, he would not have allowed the destruction of so many men, or abandoned his most holy city to be burnt and demolished by our enemies. But we, it seems, hoped to have preserved ourselves alone of all the Jewish race in a state of freedom, as if we had been guilty of no sins ourselves against God, nor been partners with those of others, when we even taught others! Wherefore, consider how God convinces us that our hopes are vain, by bringing such distress upon us, beyond our expectation, in

the desperate case we are now in. For not only has the invincible nature of this fortress not proved our safety, but also, though we have still great abundance of food, and a great quantity of arms, and other necessaries more than we want, we are openly deprived by God himself of all hope of deliverance. For the fire which did drive upon our enemies, did not of its own accord turn back upon the wall which we had built, but it was God's anger that brought it against us for the many mad crimes we have been guilty of in regard to our own countrymen; the punishments for which let us not receive from the Romans, but from God himself, executed by our own hands; for these will be more easy than the treatment we should experience from the Romans. Let our wives die before they are outraged, and our children before they have tasted of slavery, and after we have slain them, let us bestow that glorious benefit upon one another mutually, and preserve our freedom as a noble end of our lives. But first let us destroy our money and the fortress by fire. For I am well assured that this will be a great grief to the Romans, that they shall not be able to seize upon our bodies, and shall fail to get our wealth also. And let us spare nothing but our provisions; for they will testify when we are dead, that we were not subdued for want of necessaries, but that, according to our original resolve, we preferred death to slavery."

§ 7. Such was Eleazar's speech to them. However, the opinions of those present did not acquiesce therein. For although some were eager to obey, and were all but filled with pleasure at the idea, thinking such a death noble, yet those that were more tender had compassion for their wives and families; and as these men were especially moved at the prospect of their own certain death, they looked wistfully at one another, and declared by the tears that were in their eyes their dissent from his opinion. When Eleazar saw them in such fear, and that their souls were dejected at so stern a resolve, he was afraid lest perhaps they should by their lamentations and tears cow the spirit of those that had heard what he said courageously. So he did not leave off exhorting them, but stirred up himself, and, being full of matter, attempted to speak more clearly to them concern-

ing the immortality of the soul, and with indignation fixing his eyes intently on those that wept, he spoke as follows. "Truly I was very greatly mistaken, when I thought I was assisting brave men in struggling hard for their liberty, and men who were resolved either to live with honour or else to die. For I find that you are no better than others either in virtue or in courage, since you are afraid of dying, though you would be delivered thereby from the greatest miseries, while you ought to make no delay in this matter, nor wait for any one to give you advice. For divine revelation and our national ideas have continually taught us, from the earliest moment that we could use our reason, and our forefathers have corroborated the same teaching by their actions and spirit, that it is life that is a calamity to men, and not death. For this last gives our souls liberty, and lets them depart to their own place of purity, where they will be insensible to all misery. For while souls are tied down to a mortal body, they are partakers of its miseries, and to speak the real truth, are themselves dead; for the union of what is divine to what is mortal is unbecoming. It is true, the power of the soul is great, even when it is imprisoned in the body: for by moving it in a way that is invisible, it makes the body a sensible instrument of its own, and causes it to advance further in its actions than mortal nature could otherwise do. However, when it it is freed from the weight which hangs to it and draws it down to the earth, it gets again its own proper place, and becomes then a partaker of blessed power and abilities entirely free, continuing invisible to the eyes of men, as God himself. For certainly it is not seen when it is in the body, for it comes there in an invisible manner, and when it is freed from it, it is still not seen, for its nature is one and incorruptible, but yet it is the cause of change in the body. For whatever the soul touches lives and flourishes, but whatever is removed from it withers away and dies; so much is there in it of immortality. Let sleep be a most evident proof to you of what I say, for in it souls, when the body does not distract them, have the sweetest rest in themselves, and conversing with God because of their relationship to him, go everywhere, and foretell many future things. And why

ought we to fear death, while we are pleased with the rest we have in sleep? And how is it not absurd to pursue after liberty while we are alive, and yet to grudge it to ourselves when it will be eternal? We, therefore, who have been brought up in our national ideas, ought to set an example to others in readiness to die. However, if we stand in need of foreigners to support us in this matter, let us consider those Indians who profess to practise philosophy. Those good men unwillingly undergo the time of life as a necessary burden of nature, and hasten to let their souls loose from their bodies: nay, when no misfortune presses them to it, nor drives them upon it, they have such a desire of the life of immortality, that they tell other men beforehand that they are about to depart, and nobody hinders them; but every one thinks them happy men, and gives them letters to be carried to their familiar friends. So firmly and certainly do they believe that souls converse with one another [in the other world]. And when they have heard all such commands as are given them, they deliver their body to the fire, that they may get their soul separated from the body in the greatest purity, and die in the midst of hymns of commendation. For their dearest friends conduct them to their death more willingly than do any of the rest of mankind conduct their fellow-citizens when they are going a very long journey, and weep indeed on their own account, but look upon the others as happy persons, as so soon to be received among the immortal order of beings. Are not we, therefore, ashamed to have lower notions than the Indians, and by our own cowardice to lay a base reproach upon the laws of our country, which are so much emulated by all mankind? And even if we had been brought up from the first in other notions, and taught that life is the greatest good for men, and that death is a calamity, yet the circumstances we are now in exhort us to bear it courageously, since it is by the will of God and by necessity that we are to die. For long ago God made, as it seems, this decree against the whole Jewish nation, that we were to be deprived of life, as we would not make a good use of it. For do not ascribe the causes of our present sad condition to yourselves, nor gratify the Romans by thinking that this war we have had with them has undone

us all. For these things have not come to pass by their might, but a more powerful cause has intervened, and made them seem our conquerors. By what Roman weapons, pray, were those Jews who inhabited Cæsarea[1] slain, who, when they were no way disposed to rebel, but were all the while keeping their sabbath, and did not so much as lift up their hands against them, yet had their throats cut by the people of Cæsarea, who ran upon them, and also cut the throats of their wives and children, and that without any regard to the Romans, who never took us for their enemies till we revolted from them? But, perhaps, some one will say that the people of Cæsarea always quarrelled with those that lived among them, and that they only seized the opportunity to satisfy their old hatred against them. What then shall we say of those in Scythopolis,[2] who ventured to wage war with us on account of the Greeks, but did not avenge themselves upon the Romans in concert with our kinsmen? Much therefore, did their good-will and fidelity profit them, as they and their whole families were slain in the most inhuman manner, which was the return they had for their assistance! For they suffered the very same things which they had prevented from falling upon the others, as if they had themselves wished to inflict them. It would be too long for me to speak at this time of every particular in detail. For you cannot be ignorant that there was not any city in Syria which did not slay its Jewish inhabitants, though they were more hostile to us than the Romans were. Nay, the inhabitants of Damascus, though they were able to allege no specious pretext against us, filled their city with the most barbarous slaughter of our people, cutting the throats of eighteen thousand Jews, together with their wives and children. As to the number of those who were tortured to death in Egypt, we have been informed that they were more than sixty thousand. They indeed were so killed perhaps in a foreign country because they found no one to help them against their enemies; but as for all those of us who have waged war against the Romans in our own country, had we not sufficient reason to have hope of sure victory? For we had arms and walls,

[1] Cæsaria Palæstina, *Kaisariyeh*. [2] Bethshean, *Beisán*.

and fortresses so constructed as not to be easily taken, and courage not to be shaken by any dangers in the cause of liberty, which encouraged us all to revolt from the Romans. But these advantages did us good only for a short time, and only raised our hopes, while they really appeared to be the cause of greater miseries. For all we had has been taken from us, and all has fallen into the hands of our enemies, as if these advantages were only to render their victory over us the more glorious, and were not for the safety of those by whom these preparations for war were made. As for those who have already died in battle, we ought to esteem them blessed (for they died in defending, not in betraying, liberty), but as to the multitude of those who are now under the Romans, who would not pity their condition? and who would not be eager to die before he suffered the same miseries as them? For some of them have been put upon the rack, and tortured with fire and scourgings, and so died. Others have been half-devoured by wild beasts, and yet have been preserved alive to be devoured by them a second time, in order to afford laughter and sport to our enemies. And those that are alive still are to be looked on as the most miserable, who, though they frequently pray for death, cannot have that boon. And where is now that great city, the metropolis of the whole Jewish nation, which was fortified by so many walls round it, and had so many fortifications and huge towers to defend it, and could hardly hold the stores prepared for the war, and had so many myriads of men to fight for it? Where, I say, is our city that was believed to have God himself inhabiting it? It is now rased to its very foundations, and the only memorial of it that is preserved is the camp of those who destroyed it, which is still erected upon its ruins. Some unfortunate old men also sit among the ashes of the temple, and a few women are kept there by the enemy for the most shameful lust. Who is there that revolves these things in his mind, and yet can bear the sight of the sun, though he might live free from danger? Who is so much his country's enemy, or so cowardly and fond of life, as not to be sorry that he is still alive? How I would that we had all died, before we had seen the holy city demolished by the hands of our

enemies, before we had seen our holy temple razed to the ground in so profane a manner! But since a generous hope deluded us that perhaps we might be able to avenge our country's ruin on our enemies, though it has now vanished, and left us alone in our distress, let us lose no time in dying bravely. Let us pity ourselves, our children, and our wives, while it is in our power to show pity to them. For we were born to die, as also those whom we have begotten, nor is it in the power of the most happy of our race to avoid this; but outrage and slavery, and to see our wives and children led away for disgrace, these are not such evils as are natural and necessary among men; although such as do not prefer death to them, when death is in their power, must undergo even them because of their cowardice. We revolted from the Romans, pluming ourselves greatly upon our courage, and when now, at the very last, they offered us the chance of safety, we would not listen to them. Who can, therefore, doubt that they will certainly be in a rage with us if they take us alive? Miserable will then be the young men, who will be strong enough in their bodies to bear much torture, miserable also will be those of older years, who will not be able to bear such ill treatment as young men can! One will see his wife led off to be outraged, another will hear the voice of his son, imploring help of his father whose hands are bound. But while our hands are still at liberty, and have a sword in them, let them minister to us in our glorious design! Let us die before we become slaves of our enemies, and let us go out of the world with our children and wives in a state of freedom! This our laws command us to do, this our wives and children crave at our hands. God himself has sent this necessity upon us, while the Romans desire the contrary, and are afraid lest any of us should die before we are captured. Let us therefore make haste, and instead of giving them the pleasure they hope for in getting us in their power, let us leave them awe at our death and admiration at our courage."

CHAP. IX.

How the People that were in the Fortress were prevailed on by the Words of Eleazar, except two Women and five Children, and submitted to be killed by one another.

§ 1.

NOW though Eleazar wished to pursue his exhortation, they all cut him short, and made haste to do the work, being full of an unconquerable ardour of mind, and went their way as if possessed, one still endeavouring to anticipate another, and thinking that this eagerness would be a proof of their courage and judgment, if they could avoid appearing among the last to do as Eleazar urged; so great an ardour came upon them to slay their wives and children and themselves also. Nor indeed, when they came to the work itself, did their courage fail them, as one might imagine it would have done, but they then held fast without wavering to the same resolution which they had upon the hearing of Eleazar's speech, though every one of them still retained the natural passion of love to themselves and their families, because the thought carried the day with them that they were consulting for the best interests of those who were nearest and dearest to them. For husbands tenderly embraced their wives, and took their children into their arms, and clung to their parting kisses with tears in their eyes; but at the same time they carried out what they had resolved on, as if doing it with the hands of strangers, making their anticipation of the miseries they would suffer, if they fell into the hands of their enemies, their comfort for the necessity of this. Nor was there at last any one of these men found who did not act his part in this terrible execution, but every one of them despatched his nearest relations. Miserable men indeed were they for the necessity they were in, to whom to slay their wives and children with their own hands seemed the lightest evil before them! Then not being able to bear the grief they were in for what they had done any longer, and esteeming it a wrong to those they had slain to live even the shortest space of time after

them, they quickly laid all they had on a heap, and set fire to it; and chose ten men by lot out of them to slay all the rest, and every one laid himself down by his wife and children on the ground, and threw his arms about them, and offered his neck to the stroke of those who executed the melancholy office. And when these ten had intrepidly slain all the others, they made the same rule for casting lots for themselves, that he on whom the lot fell should first kill the other nine and then himself. All of these had courage sufficient to be no way behind one another in doing or suffering; and eventually the nine offered their necks to the last one left, and he took a view of all the other bodies, lest perchance someone or other in so large a butchery might want his assistance to be despatched, and when he perceived that they were all dead, he set fire to the palace, and with great force ran his sword into his body, and fell down dead near his own relations. And all these died in the idea that they had not left one soul among them alive to be subject to the Romans; but one old woman, and another who was akin to Eleazar, and superior to most women in intelligence and wisdom, and five children, had secretly concealed themselves in caverns under ground, and had carried water there for their drink, when the rest were intent upon the slaughter of one another, who were nine hundred and sixty in number, women and children being included in that computation. This tragedy happened on the fifteenth day of the month Xanthicus.

§ 2. As for the Romans, they expected a battle in the morning, so they put on their armour, and with their scaling ladders bridged over a way from their banks, and began their assault upon the fortress. But they saw no enemy, but a terrible solitude on every side, and fire and perfect silence within the place, so they were at a loss to make out what had happened; and at last they raised a shout, as they used to do when they hurled missiles, to try if they could bring out any one that was within: and the two women heard this noise, and came out of their underground caverns, and informed the Romans of what had been done, just as it had happened, and one of them clearly described how everything had been said and done. But they did not

readily credit her account, for they could hardly believe such a desperate act: but attempted to put the fire out, and quickly cutting a way through it, entered the palace. And when they met with the multitude of the slain, they did not rejoice though it had happened to their enemies, but marvelled at the courage of their resolution, and the intrepid contempt of death which so great a number of them had shown by such a deed as this.

CHAP. X.

How many of the Sicarii fled to Alexandria, and what Dangers they were in there; on which account the Temple, which had formerly been built by Onias the High Priest, was destroyed.

§ 1.

WHEN Masada was thus taken, the general left a garrison in the fortress, and himself went to Cæsarea with his army. For there were now no enemies left in the country, but it was all overthrown by so long a war, which brought about perception and danger of disorder even in places very remote. Moreover, it came to pass that many Jews were slain at Alexandria in Egypt after this. For as many of the Sicarii as were able to flee there were not content with having saved their lives, but again attempted to make new disturbances, and urged many of those who entertained them to assert their liberty, and to esteem the Romans as no better than themselves, and to look upon God as their only lord and master. And when some of the leading Jews opposed them, they slew some of them, and were very pressing in their exhortations to the others to revolt from the Romans. But when the principal members of the Jewish council saw their madness, they thought it no longer safe for themselves to overlook it, so they got all the Jews together to an assembly, and laid before them the madness of the Sicarii, and showed that they had been the authors of all the evils that had come upon them. They said also that these men, since they had no sure hope of escape, now they had fled from Judæa (because as soon as

ever it was known they were there, they would at once be destroyed by the Romans), had come there to give those who had not been partakers with them in any of their crimes a share in their own richly-deserved misfortunes. So they exhorted the multitude to have a care lest they should be brought to destruction by them, and to make their apology to the Romans for their own conduct in harbouring them by delivering these men up to them. And they, recognising the greatness of the danger they were in listened to what was said, and ran with great violence upon the Sicarii, and arrested them. And six hundred of them were captured immediately, and it was not long before all those that fled into Egypt and to the Egyptian Thebes[1] were arrested also and brought back; whose stout-heartedness, whether recklessness or obstinacy of opinion, everybody was amazed at. For though all sorts of torture and ill-treatment of their bodies were devised, they could not get any of them to confess or be willing to say that the emperor was their lord, though that was all that was required of them, but they maintained their own opinion in spite of all the distress they were brought to, as if they received these torments and fire itself with bodies insensible of pain, and with a soul that all but rejoiced under them. But what was most of all astonishing to the spectators was the courage of the children; for not one of these children was so far overcome as to call the emperor lord. So much does the strength of courage prevail over the weakness of the body.

§ 2. Now Lupus at this time administered Alexandria, and quickly sent the emperor word of this commotion. And he suspecting the restless temper of the Jews for innovation, and being afraid lest they should get together to a head again, and join others with them, gave orders to Lupus to demolish the Jewish temple which was in the region called the region of Onias. It was in Egypt, and owed both its building and name to the following cause. Onias, the son of Simon, one of the high priests at Jerusalem, fled from Antiochus the king of Syria, when he

[1] On the left bank of the Nile, near *Luxor*.

made war against the Jews, and went to Alexandria. And as Ptolemy received him very kindly, on account of his hatred to Antiochus, Onias assured him, if he would comply with his proposal, that he would make all the Jews his allies. And when the king agreed to do all that he was able, Onias desired him to give him leave to build a temple somewhere in Egypt, and that he might worship God according to the customs of his own country; for he said the Jews would then be so much readier to fight against Antiochus, who had laid waste the temple at Jerusalem, and would have greater good-will to him, and if he granted them security for their religion, many of them would come over to him.

§ 3. And Ptolemy listened to what he said, and gave him a region a hundred and eighty furlongs from Memphis.[1] It was the district called the district of Heliopolis,[2] where Onias built a fortress, and a temple not like that at Jerusalem, but resembling a tower. He built it of large stones to the height of sixty cubits, and constructed the altar in imitation of that in our own country, and adorned it similarly with gifts, except as regards the candlestick. For he did not make a candlestick, but had one golden lamp made, which illuminated the place with its light, and which he hung by a chain of gold. And the whole temple enclosure was surrounded with a wall of burnt brick, though it had gates of stone. The king also gave him a large district for a revenue in money, not only that the priests might have a plentiful provision made for them, but also that God might have abundance of what was necessary for his worship. However, Onias did not do all this from sound judgment, but because he was at variance with the Jews at Jerusalem, cherishing malice because of his exile, and he thought that by building this temple he should draw away the multitude from them to it. There had also been a certain ancient prediction made by [a prophet] whose name was Isaiah about six hundred years before, that this temple should be built by a man that was a Jew in Egypt.[3] Such is the history of the building of this temple.

[1] Jewish War, i. 9, § 4. [2] Jewish War, i. 1, § 1.
[3] Isa. xix. 18-23.—W.

§ 4. And now Lupus, the governor of Alexandria, upon the receipt of the emperor's letter, went to this temple, and carried out of it some of the votive offerings, and closed it. And as Lupus died a little afterwards, Paulinus, who succeeded him as governor, left none of the votive offerings there (for he threatened the priests severely if they did not bring them all out), nor did he permit those who were desirous of worship even to come near the sacred enclosure, but shut the gates, and made it entirely inaccessible, so that there remained no longer any trace of any divine worship having been in that place. Now the time from the building of this temple till it was shut up again was three hundred and forty-three years.

CHAP. XI.

Concerning Jonathan, one of the Sicarii, who stirred up a Sedition in Cyrene, and was a false Accuser.

§ 1.

AND now the madness of the Sicarii spread, like a disease, as far as the cities in the neighbourhood of Cyrene.[1] For one Jonathan, a very vile person, and by trade a weaver, escaped there, and prevailed upon no small number of the poorer sort to give ear to him, and led them into the desert, promising them that he would shew them signs and apparitions. As for the other Jews of Cyrene, he concealed his knavish tricks from them, but those of the greatest dignity among them informed Catullus, the governor of the Libyan Pentapolis, of his march into the desert, and of the preparations he had made. And he despatched both horse and foot, and easily overcame them, because they were unarmed men: and most were slain in the fight, but some were taken alive, and brought before Catullus. As for Jonathan, the leader of the plot, he fled away for the time, but upon a great and very diligent search all over the country for him, he was captured also. And when he was brought before Catullus, he devised a

[1] The chief town of the Libyan Pentapolis. Jewish War, ii. 16, § 4.

way whereby he not only escaped punishment himself, but also gave Catullus a handle for doing much mischief. For he falsely accused the richest of the Jews, and said that they had suggested to him his plot.

§ 2. Now Catullus readily listened to his calumnies, and exaggerated the matter greatly in a very theatrical way, that he also might be supposed to have had success in a Jewish war. But what was still harder, he not only gave too easy belief to his stories, but he also taught the Sicarii to accuse men falsely. He bade this Jonathan, at any rate, to name one Alexander, a Jew (with whom he had formerly had a quarrel and open hostility), and also got him to name his wife Berenice, as concerned with him. These two Catullus ordered to be slain first, and after them he caused all the rich and wealthy Jews to be slain, in number no less than three thousand. This he thought he might do safely, because he confiscated their effects, and added them to the emperor's revenues.

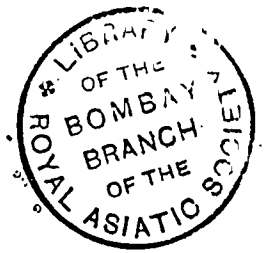
§ 3. Moreover, lest any Jews that lived elsewhere should convict him of his villainy, he extended his false accusations further, and persuaded Jonathan, and some others who were taken with him, to bring an accusation of desire for innovation against Jews that were of the best character both at Alexandria and at Rome. One of those who were insidiously accused was Josephus, the writer of this history. However, this plot, thus contrived by Catullus, did not succeed according to his hope. For though he went himself to Rome, and brought Jonathan and his companions with him in bonds, and thought he should have had no further inquiry made as to the lies that were forged under his government, or by him, Vespasian suspected the matter, and made an inquiry into the truth. And when he found out that the accusation laid against the Jews was an unjust one, he cleared them of the crimes charged upon them at the instigation of Titus, and brought the punishment he deserved upon Jonathan; for he was first tortured, and then burnt alive.

§ 4. As to Catullus, the emperors[1] were so gentle to him, that he underwent no severer condemnation then.

[1] Vespasian and Titus.

But not long afterwards he fell into a complicated and incurable disease, and died miserably. He was not only afflicted in body, but the disease in his mind was heavier still. For he was terribly disturbed by fears, and continually cried out that he saw the ghosts of those whom he had slain standing before him; and was not able to contain himself, but leaped out of his bed, as if both torture and fire were brought to him. And his disease grew worse and worse continually, and his very entrails were so corroded, that they fell out of his body, and so he died. Thus he became as great an instance of divine providence as ever was, and demonstration that God punishes wicked men.

§ 5. And here I shall put an end to my history, which I formerly promised to deliver with all accuracy to such as should wish to know in what manner this war between the Romans and the Jews was managed. As to its style, I must leave that to the determination of my readers; but as for the agreement with the facts, I shall not scruple to say, and that boldly, that truth has been the only thing I have aimed at through its entire composition.



FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS,

ON THE ANTIQUITY OF THE JEWS

AGAINST APION.

BOOK I.

§ 1.

I SUPPOSE that by my history of the Antiquities of the Jews, most excellent Epaphroditus, I have made it quite clear to those that peruse it that our Jewish nation is of very great antiquity, and had a distinct existence of its own originally, as also how we came to inhabit the country wherein we now live. These Antiquities contain the history of five thousand years, and are taken out of our sacred books, and written by me in the Greek tongue. However, as I observe a considerable number of people give ear to the reproaches that are uttered against us by some who bear ill-will to us, and disbelieve what I have written concerning the antiquity of our nation, and take as a proof that our nation is of a late date the fact that they are not thought worthy of any mention by the most famous Greek historians, I have thought it right to write somewhat briefly about these matters, to convict those that so reproach us of spite and voluntary falsehood, and to correct the ignorance of others, and also to instruct all those who are desirous of knowing the truth about our antiquity. As for the witnesses whom I shall produce for the proof of what I say, they shall be such as are esteemed by the Greeks to be most trustworthy as regards all antiquarian

lore. I shall also show that those who have written reproachfully and falsely about us are refuted by themselves. I shall also endeavour to give the reasons why not many Greeks have mentioned our nation in their histories; I shall, however, bring those to light who have not passed over our history, for the sake of those that either do not know or pretend not to know them.

§ 2. First then I cannot but greatly wonder at those who think that we must attend to none but Greeks as to the most ancient facts, and learn the truth from them only, and that we are not to believe ourselves or other men. For I am convinced that the very reverse is the case, if we will not follow vain opinions, but extract the truth from the facts themselves. For you will find that almost all which concerns the Greeks happened not long ago, nay, one may say, is of yesterday and the day before only; I speak of the building of their cities, the inventions of their arts, and the recording of their laws; and as for their care about compiling histories, it is very nearly the last thing they set about. Indeed they admit themselves that it is the Egyptians the Chaldæans and the Phœnicians (for I will not now include ourselves among those) that have preserved the memory of the most ancient and lasting tradition. For all these nations inhabit such countries as are least subject to destruction from the climate and atmosphere, and they have also taken especial care to have nothing forgotten of what was done among them, but their history was esteemed sacred, and ever written in the public records by men of the greatest wisdom. Whereas ten thousand destructions have afflicted the country which the Greeks inhabit, and blotted out the memory of former actions; so that, ever beginning a new way of living, they supposed each of them that their mode of life originated with themselves. It was also late, and with difficulty, that they came to know the use of letters. For those who would trace their knowledge of letters to the greatest antiquity, boast that they learned them from the Phœnicians and from Cadmus. But nobody is able to produce any writing preserved from that time, either in the temples or in any other public monuments; and indeed the time when those lived who went to the Trojan war so many years after-

wards is in great doubt, and it is a question whether the Greeks used letters at that time; and the most prevailing opinion, and that nearest the truth, is, that they were ignorant of the present way of using letters. Certainly there is not any writing among them, which the Greeks agree to be genuine, ancienter than Homer's poems. And he plainly was later than the siege of Troy: and they say that even he did not leave his poems in writing, but that their memory was preserved in songs, and that they were afterwards collected together, and that that is the reason why such a number of variations are found in them. As for those who set about writing histories among them, such I mean as Cadmus of Miletus,[1] and Acusilaus of Argos,[2] and any others that may be mentioned after him, they lived but a short time before the Persian expedition into Greece. Moreover, as to those who first philosophized as to things celestial and divine among the Greeks, as Pherecydes the Syrian, and Pythagoras, and Thales, all with one consent agree, that they learned what they knew from the Egyptians and Chaldæans, and wrote but little. And these are the things which are supposed to be the oldest of all among the Greeks, and they have much ado to believe that the writings ascribed to those men are genuine.

§ 3. How can it then be other than an absurd thing for the Greeks to be so proud, as if they were the only people acquainted with antiquity, the only people that have handed down the truth about those early times in an accurate manner? Nay, who is there that cannot easily gather from the Greek writers themselves, that they knew but little on good foundation when they set about writing, but rather jotted down their own conjectures as to facts? Accordingly they frequently confute one another in their own books, and do not hesitate to give us the most contradictory accounts of the same things. But I should spend my time to little purpose, if I should teach the Greeks what they know better than me already, what great discrepancy there is between Hellanicus and Acusilaus as to their genealogies,

[1] Miletus stood opposite the mouth of the Mæander; the ground has now been completely changed by the deposits of the Mæander, and the ruins of Miletus are at a distance from the sea.

[2] In the Peloponnesus.

in how many cases Acusilaus corrects Hesiod, or how Ephorus demonstrates Hellanicus to have told lies in most of his history; or how Timæus in like manner contradicts Ephorus, and the succeeding writers Timæus, and all writers Herodotus. Nor could Timæus agree with Antiochus and Philistus and Callias about Sicilian history, any more than do the several writers of the Atthidæ follow one another as to Athenian affairs, nor do the historians that wrote on Argolic history coincide about the affairs of the Argives. And now what need I say any more about particular cities and smaller places, when in the most approved writers of the expedition of the Persians, and of the actions done in it, there are such great differences? Nay, Thucydides himself is accused by some as often writing what is false, although he seems to have given us the most accurate history of the affairs of his own times.

§ 4. As for the causes of such great discrepancy, many others may perhaps appear probable to those who wish to investigate the matter, but I attach the greatest importance to two which I shall mention. And first I shall mention what seems to me the principal cause, namely, the fact that from the beginning the Greeks were careless about public records of what was done on each occasion, and this would naturally pave the way for error, and give those that wished to write on old subjects opportunity for lying. For not only were records neglected by the other Greeks, but even among the Athenians themselves also, who pretend to be Autochthons, and to have applied themselves to learning, there are no such records extant, but they say that the laws of Draco concerning murders, which are now extant in writing, are the most ancient of their public records, yet Draco lived only a little before the tyrant Pisistratus. For as to the Arcadians, who make such boasts of their antiquity, why need I mention them, since it was still later before they learned their letters, and that with difficulty also?

§ 5. There must, therefore, naturally arise great differences among writers, when no records existed, which might at once inform those who desired to learn, and refute those that would tell lies. However, we must assign a second cause, besides the former one, for these discrepancies.

Those who were the most zealous to write history were not solicitous for the discovery of truth, although it is very easy always to make such a profession, but they tried to display their fine powers of writing, and in whatever manner of writing they thought they were able to exceed others, to that did they apply themselves. Some betook themselves to the writing of fabulous narrations; some endeavoured to please cities or kings by writing in their commendation; others fell to finding faults with transactions, or with the writers of such transactions, and thought to make a great figure by so doing. However, such do what is of all things the most contrary to true history. For it is the characteristic of true history, that all both speak and write the same about the same things, whereas these men, by writing differently about the same things, thought they would be supposed to write with the greatest regard to truth. We must indeed yield to the Greek writers as to language and style of composition, but not as regards the truth of ancient history, and least of all as to the national customs of various countries.

§ 6. As to the care of writing down the records from the earliest antiquity, that the priests were intrusted with that function, and philosophized about it, among the Egyptians and Babylonians, and the Chaldæans also among the Babylonians, and that the Phœnicians, who especially mixed with the Greeks, made use of letters both for the common affairs of life, and for handing down the history of public transactions, I think I may omit any proof of this, because all men allow it to be so. But I shall endeavour briefly to show that our forefathers took the same care about writing their records (for I will not say they took greater care than the others I spoke of), and that they committed that office to their high priests and prophets, and that these records have been written all along down to our own times with the utmost accuracy, and that, if it be not too bold for me to say so, our history will be so written hereafter.

§ 7. For our forefathers not only appointed for that purpose from the beginning the best of men and those that attended upon the divine worship, but also made provision that the stock of the priests should continue unmixed

and pure. For he who is partaker of the priesthood must marry a wife of the same nation, without having any regard to money or other honours, and he is to carefully take his wife's genealogy from the ancient records, and procure many witnesses to it.[1] And this is our practice not only in Judæa itself, but wherever any body of men of our nation live, and an exact account of our priests' marriages is kept even in Egypt and Babylon, and any other place in the rest of the world wherever any of our priests are scattered. For they send to Jerusalem the names and pedigree of their parents in writing, as well as those of their remoter ancestors, and state who are the witnesses. And if any war breaks out, as has frequently happened before now, as when Antiochus Epiphanes invaded our country, as also when Pompey the Great and Quintilius Varus did so also, and especially in the wars that have happened in our own times, those priests that survive them compose new tables of genealogy out of the old records, and examine into the state of the women that remain. For they do not receive those that have been captives, suspecting that they have frequently had sexual intercourse with strangers. But what is the strongest proof of our accuracy in this matter is that we have the names of our high priests from father to son set down in our records for two thousand years. And whatever priest violates any of these rules is prohibited to stand at the altar, or to participate in any other of our holy rites. And this is justly, or rather necessarily done, because every one is not permitted of his own accord to be a writer, nor is there any discrepancy in what is written, as only prophets have written the original and earliest accounts of things, as they learned them of God himself by inspiration, as they have also written clearly what happened in their own times.

§ 8. For we have not ten thousand books among us, disagreeing with and contradicting one another, but only twenty-two books, which contain the records of all time, and are justly believed to be divine. And five of them are by Moses, and contain his laws and the traditions of the origin

[1] Of this accuracy of the Jews before and in our Saviour's time, in carefully preserving their genealogies all along, particularly those of the priests, see Josephus' Life, § 1.—W.

of mankind *and the subsequent history of the Jews* till his death. This time was little short of three thousand years. And as to the time from the death of Moses till the reign of Artaxerxes, king of Persia, who reigned after Xerxes, the prophets who succeeded Moses wrote down what happened in their times in thirteen books; and the remaining four books contain hymns to God, and precepts for the conduct of human life. Our history has also been written in detail from Artaxerxes to our own times, but is not esteemed equally authoritative as the before-mentioned books, because there was not then an exact succession of prophets. And how much we credit these books of ours is evident by our action. For though so many ages have already passed, no one has ventured either to add any thing to them, or to take any thing from them, or to make any change in them. But it is innate in all Jews, immediately from their very birth, to esteem these books to contain divine doctrines, and to abide by them, and, if necessary, gladly to die for them. For many Jewish captives have frequently been seen ere now to endure racks and deaths of all kinds in the theatres, not to say one word against our laws and the records that contain them. Whereas who among the Greeks would undergo the least harm on their account, even if all the writings that are among them were to be destroyed? For they take them to be narratives concocted according to the inclinations of those that write them. And they justly hold this view of their more ancient writers, as they see some of the present generation bold enough to write about affairs at which they were not present, without caring to get information about them from those who knew the circumstances. Indeed about this late war of ours some persons have written histories and published them, without having been in the places concerned, or having been near them when the actions were done, but only putting a few things together from false hearsay, and very impudently and shamelessly calling these writings by the name of history.

§ 9. As for myself, I have composed a true history of the whole war, and of all the particulars that occurred therein, having been myself present at all its transactions. For I acted as general of those who are called among us

Galilæans, as long as it was possible for us to make any opposition. I was then arrested by the Romans, and became a captive, and Vespasian and Titus had me kept in custody, and forced me to attend upon them continually. At first I was in bonds, but was freed from them afterwards, and sent to accompany Titus when he went from Alexandria to the siege of Jerusalem. And during that time there was nothing done that escaped my knowledge; for what happened in the Roman camp I saw, and wrote down carefully, and I alone took cognizance of the news that deserters brought. Afterwards I had leisure at Rome, and when all my materials were prepared for the work, I employed some *collaborateurs* to be quite *au fait* in the Greek idioms, and so composed my history of those transactions. And so confident was I of the truth of what I related, that I appealed first of all to those that had the supreme command in that war, namely, Vespasian and Titus, as witnesses for me, for to them I presented my books first of all, and after them to many of the Romans who had taken part in the war. I also sold them to many of our own men who understood the Greek learning, among whom were Julius Archelaus, the most august Herod, and the most admirable king Agrippa himself. And all these men bore testimony to me that I had paid the strictest regard to truth, and they were not men who would have disguised their real thoughts or been silent, if I, either out of ignorance or to curry favour, had given false colours to actions, or omitted any thing.

§ 10. Some paltry persons have indeed attempted to calumniate my history, and taken it to be a kind of scholastic performance for the training of young men by a strange accusation and calumny, since it ought to be generally known that every one who undertakes to deliver the history of actions truly, ought to know them accurately himself first, either from having been concerned in them himself, or from having been informed of them by such as were acquainted with them; both which branches of knowledge I may very properly claim in the composition of both my works. For, as I said, I translated the Antiquities out of our sacred books, which I could easily do, since I was a priest by race, and had studied the philosophy contained

in those writings: and as for the History of the War which I wrote, I had been myself an actor in many of its transactions, and an eye-witness of most, nor was I unacquainted with any thing whatever that was either said or done in it. How impudent then should those be esteemed, who undertake to contradict me as to the truth of those affairs! for although they say they have perused the military notes of both Vespasian and Titus, they could not be acquainted with the state of things with us Jews who fought against them.

§ 11. I have been obliged to make this digression as I wished to expose the recklessness of those who undertake to write histories: and I think I have sufficiently shown that the transmitting down the history of ancient times has been better done by those nations which are called barbarians than by the Greeks themselves. I now wish first to say a few things to those who endeavour to prove that our polity is of late date, because, as they say, the Greek writers have said nothing about us; after which I shall produce testimonies for our antiquity out of the writings of foreigners, and shall also prove that such as cast reproaches upon our nation do so very unjustly.

§ 12. As for ourselves, we neither inhabit a maritime country, nor delight in commerce, nor in such intercourse with other men as arises from it; but the cities we dwell in are remote from the sea, and as we have a fruitful country to dwell in, we take pains in cultivating it; but our principal care of all is to educate our children well, and to observe the laws, and we think it to be the most necessary business of our whole life to keep that religion that has been handed down to us. Since, then, besides what I have already said, we had a peculiar way of living of our own, there was no opportunity offered us in ancient times for such intercourse with the Greeks, as they had with the Egyptians owing to their exports and imports, as also with the Phœnicians, who lived by the sea-side, and were moved by the love of lucre to trade and merchandise. Nor did our forefathers betake themselves, as did some others, to robbery, nor did they, in order to gain more wealth, turn to wars, although our country contained many myriads of men of courage. Now the Phœnicians themselves became

known to the Greeks from the first by their commerce and navigation, and by them the Egyptians became known to the Greeks also, as did also all those people from whom the Phœnicians in long voyages over the seas carried wares to the Greeks. The Medes also and the Persians afterwards, when they were lords of Asia, became well known to them, especially the Persians, who led their armies as far as the other continent.[1] The Thracians were also known to the Greeks because of the nearness of their country, and the Scythians owing to those who sailed to Pontus;[2] for generally speaking all the maritime nations, dwelling near either the eastern or western seas, became most known to those who were desirous to write history; but such as had their habitation further from the sea were for the most part unknown. This appears to have been the case in Europe also, since the city of Rome, that has for a long time been possessed of so much power, and performed such great actions in war, is yet never mentioned by Herodotus, nor by Thucydides, nor by any one of their contemporaries, and it was only late, and with great difficulty, that the Romans became known to the Greeks. And those who are reckoned the most exact historians, as Ephorus for one, were so ignorant of the Gauls and the Spaniards, that he supposed the Spaniards, who inhabit so great a part of the west of the earth,[3] to be only one city; and they also ventured to describe as customs of theirs things which they had never either done or said. And the reason why these writers did not know the truth was that they had no intercourse with those nations, and the reason why they wrote what was false was that they wished to seem to know things which others did not know. How can it then be any wonder, if our nation was not known to many, and gave them no opportunity to mention it in their writings, as it was so remote from the sea, and had its own peculiar mode of life?

§ 13. Suppose that we thought good to apply this argument to the Greeks, that their nation is not ancient, be-

[1] Europe is meant.

[2] On the south shore of the *Black Sea*.

[3] The ancients did not know of America, so thought Spain the end of the world in the west. Compare Horace, Odes, i. 36. 4.

cause nothing is said of them in our records: would they not laugh at us altogether, and probably give the same reasons for our silence of them that I have now adduced for their silence of us, and produce the neighbouring nations as witnesses to their antiquity? Now I shall endeavour to do this very thing. For I shall bring the Egyptians and Phœnicians as my principal witnesses, because nobody can complain of their testimony as false. For all the Egyptians in general, and of the Phœnicians the Tyrians, are known to have borne the greatest ill-will to us. However, I cannot say the same of the Chaldæans, since our original ancestors were Chaldæans, and they mention us Jews in their records because of the relationship between us. Now, when I shall have made my case good as far as concerns these, I shall show that some of the Greek historians have mentioned us Jews also, that those who slander us may no longer have this pretext for contradicting what I have said about our nation.

§ 14. I shall begin with the writings of the Egyptians; not indeed of those that have written in the Egyptian language, which it is impossible for me to do; but Manetho was a man who was by race an Egyptian, but had made himself master of the Greek learning, as is very evident; for he wrote the history of his own country in the Greek tongue, translating it, as he himself says, out of their sacred records: he also finds great fault with Herodotus for his ignorance and false account of Egyptian affairs. Now this Manetho, in the second book of his Egyptian history, writes concerning us in the following manner. I shall set down his very words, as if I were producing the very man himself as a witness. "There was a king of ours whose name was Timaus, in whose reign it came to pass, I know not why, that God was displeased with us, and there came unexpectedly men of ignoble birth out of the eastern parts, who had boldness enough to make an expedition into our country, and easily subdued it by force without a battle. And when they had got our rulers under their power, they afterwards savagely burnt down our cities, and demolished the temples of the gods, and used all the inhabitants in a most hostile manner, for they slew some, and led the children and wives of others into slavery. At length they

made one of themselves king, whose name was Salatis. And he lived at Memphis,[1] and made both Upper and Lower Egypt pay tribute, and left garrisons in places that were most suitable for them. And he made the eastern parts especially strong, as he foresaw that the Assyrians, who had then the greatest power, would covet their kingdom, and invade them. And as he found in the district of Sais[2] a city very fit for his purpose (which lay east of the arm of the Nile near Bubastis,[3] and with regard to a certain theological notion was called Auaris), he rebuilt it, and made it very strong by the walls he built round it, and by a numerous garrison of two hundred and forty thousand armed men whom he put into it to keep it. There Salatis went every summer, partly to gather in his corn, and pay his soldiers their wages, and partly to train his armed men and so to awe foreigners. When he had reigned nineteen years he died. After him reigned another, whose name was Beon, for forty-four years. After him reigned another, called Apachnas, thirty-six years and seven months. After him Apophis reigned sixty-one years, and then Janias fifty years and one month. After all these reigned Assis forty-nine years and two months. And these six were the first rulers among them, who were always warring with the Egyptians, and were very desirous to pluck up Egypt by the roots. Their whole nation was called Hycsos, that is shepherd-kings; for Hyc according to the sacred dialect denotes a king, as does Sos a shepherd and shepherds in the ordinary dialect, and of these is compounded Hycsos. But some say that these people were Arabians." Now, in another copy it is said, that Hyc does not denote kings, but on the contrary captive shepherds; for Hyc again in the Egyptian tongue, and Hac with the aspirate, expressly denotes captives. And this seems to me the more probable opinion, and more agreeable to ancient history. [Then Manetho goes on,] "These people, whom we have before named kings, the sons of those who were called shepherds, and their descendants, kept possession of Egypt five hundred and eleven years. After this the kings of Thebais

[1] Jewish War, i. 9. § 4.
[2] *Sa el-Hagar.*
[3] *Tell Basta*, near *Zagazig.*

and of the rest of Egypt made an insurrection against the shepherds, and a terrible and long war burst out between them." Manetho says further, "Under a king, whose name was Alisphragmuthosis, the shepherds were subdued, and driven out of other parts of Egypt, and shut up in a place that contained ten thousand acres. This place was called Auaris." Manetho says further, "The shepherds built a large and strong wall round all this place, to keep all their possessions and spoil in security. But Thummosis, the son of Alisphragmuthosis, made an attempt to take them by storm and by siege, sitting before their walls with four hundred and eighty thousand men, and upon his despairing of taking the place by siege, he made an agreement with them, that they should all evacuate Egypt, and depart unharmed wherever they would. Upon these conditions they went away with their whole families and effects, being no fewer in number than two hundred and forty thousand, and journeyed through the wilderness from Egypt to Syria. And as they were in fear of the Assyrians, who were then masters of Asia, they built a city in the country now called Judæa, large enough to contain so many myriads of men, and called it Jerusalem." And Manetho says, in another book of his Egyptian history, that this nation called shepherds were also described as captives in their sacred books. And this account of his is correct. For feeding of sheep was the employment of our earliest ancestors, and as they led such a wandering life in feeding sheep, they were called shepherds. Nor was it again without reason that they were called captives by the Egyptians, since our ancestor Joseph told the king of Egypt that he was himself a captive, and afterwards sent for his brothers to Egypt by the king's permission. But as for these matters, I shall make a more exact investigation into them elsewhere.

§ 15. And now I produce the Egyptians as witnesses of the antiquity of our nation. I shall therefore set down again what Manetho writes as to the order of the times. He speaks as follows. "When this nation of shepherds had gone from Egypt to Jerusalem, Tethmosis, the king of Egypt, who drove them out, reigned afterwards twenty-five years and four months, and then died,

and after him his son Chebron took the kingdom and reigned thirteen years. After him reigned Amenophis twenty years and seven months. Then his sister Amessis reigned twenty-one years and nine months. After her reigned Mephres twelve years and nine months. After him reigned Mephramuthosis, twenty-five years and ten months. After him reigned Thmosis nine years and eight months. After him reigned Amenophis thirty years and ten months. After him reigned Orus thirty-six years and five months. Next reigned his daughter Acenchres twelve years and one month. Next reigned her brother Rathotis nine years. Next reigned Acencheres twelve years and five months. Next reigned another Acencheres twelve years and three months. After him reigned Armais four years and one month. After him reigned Ramesses one year and four months. After him reigned Armesses Miammou sixty-six years and two months. After him Amenophis reigned nineteen years and six months. After him reigned Sethosis, and Ramesses, who had an army of cavalry and a navy. He appointed his brother Armais to be his viceroy in Egypt, and also gave him all the authority of a king, except that he ordered him not to wear a diadem, nor be injurious to the queen and mother of his children, nor to meddle with the other concubines of the king. And he himself made an expedition against Cyprus and Phœnice,[1] and another against the Assyrians and Medes, and subdued them all, some by his arms, and some without fighting by the terror of his great army; and being puffed up by the great success he had, he went on still more boldly, and overthrew the cities and countries that lay towards the east. But after some time Armais, who was left in Egypt, did all those very things without fear which his brother had forbidden him to do, for he forced the queen, and meddled freely with the rest of the concubines, and at the persuasion of his friends wore a diadem, and rose up against his brother. Then he who was set over the priests of Egypt wrote a letter to Sethosis, and informed him of all that had happened, and how his brother had risen up against him. So he returned to Pelusium[2]

[1] Phœnicia.

[2] *Tineh.* Jewish War, i 8, § 7.

immediately, and recovered his kingdom again. The country also was called Egypt after his name. For Manetho says that Sethosis was called Ægyptus, and that his brother Armais was called Danaus."

§ 16. This is Manetho's account. And it is evident from the number of years stated by him, if they are added together, that these so-called shepherds, our ancestors, migrated from Egypt, and inhabited Judæa, three hundred and ninety-three years before Danaus went to Argos. And yet the Argives look upon him as most ancient. Manetho, therefore, bears this testimony to two points of the greatest consequence to us from the Egyptian records; first that we came out of another country into Egypt, and next that our migration from it was so ancient in time as to have preceded the siege of Troy almost a thousand years. But as to those things which Manetho adds, not from the Egyptian records, but, as he confesses himself, from some stories of uncertain authority, I shall refute them hereafter in detail, and shall prove that they are no better than incredible falsehoods.

§ 17. I shall now, therefore, pass from these records, and come to those written by the Phœnicians concerning our nation, and shall produce my proofs out of them. There are records then among the Tyrians that take in the history of many years, and they are public writings kept with great exactness, and are accounts of things worth recording done among themselves, as also of their transactions with other nations. Among these it is recorded, that the temple was built by king Solomon at Jerusalem, a hundred and forty-three years and eight months before the Tyrians built Carthage, and the building of our temple is recorded in their archives. For Hiram, the king of Tyre, was the friend of Solomon our king, who had inherited that friendship from his father.[1] So he was ambitious to contribute to the splendour of this edifice of Solomon's, and made him a present of a hundred and twenty talents of gold, and also cut down the most excellent timber of that mountain which is called Libanus, and sent

[1] I read διαδεγμένου, for the word would only be true of Solomon, not of Hiram.

it to him for the roof. And Solomon not only made him many other presents by way of return, but also gave him a country in Galilee that was called Chabulon.[1] But what mainly cemented the friendship between them was the passion both had for wisdom; for they sent problems to one another, with a desire to have them unriddled, and in these Solomon was superior to Hiram, as he was wiser in all other respects. And many of the letters that passed between them are still preserved among the Tyrians. Now, to show that this account is not made up by me I shall produce as a witness Dius, a man who is believed to have written the Phœnician history in an accurate manner. This Dius then writes as follows in his history of the Phœnicians. "Upon the death of Abibalus, his son Hiram became king, and raised banks at the eastern parts of the city, and enlarged its area, and also joined the temple of Olympian Zeus, which stood before on an island by itself, to the city, by connecting them with a causeway, and adorned that temple with donations of gold. He moreover went up to Libanus, and had its timber cut down for the building of temples. They also say that Solomon, when he was king of Jerusalem, sent riddles to Hiram to guess, and desired he would send others back for him to guess, and he who could not guess them was to pay money to him that did. And as Hiram agreed to the proposal, but was not able to guess the riddles, he was obliged to pay a great deal of money as a penalty. They also relate that one Abdemon, a man of Tyre, guessed the riddles, and propounded others which Solomon could not, upon which he was obliged to repay a great deal of money to Hiram." This is the witness which Dius bears to what I have before said.

§ 18. And now I shall add the Ephesian Menander as an additional witness. This Menander wrote the acts that were done both by the Greeks and Barbarians under every one of the Tyrian kings, and took much pains to gather their history from the national records. Now, when he was writing about the kings that had reigned at Tyre, when he came to Hiram, he speaks as follows. "Upon the death of

[1] Probably the district round *Kâbûl*, Chabolo in Galilee.

Abibalus, his son Hiram succeeded to the kingdom; he lived fifty-three years, and reigned thirty-four. He levelled what is called the Broad Place, and erected the golden pillar in Zeus' temple, and also went and cut down timber from the mountain called Libanus, namely cedar wood for the roofs of temples. He also pulled down the old temples, and built new ones, and consecrated temples to Hercules and Astarte. He first built Hercules' temple in the month Peritius, and that of Astarte when he made his expedition against the Tityi, who would not pay him tribute, and when he had subdued them to himself, he returned home again. Under this king there was a younger son of Abdemon,[1] who mastered the problems which Solomon the king of Jerusalem set." Now the time from this king to the building of Carthage is calculated as follows. "Upon the death of Hiram, Beleazarus his son succeeded to the kingdom, who lived forty-three years, and reigned seven years, and was succeeded by his son Abdastratus, who lived twenty-nine years, and reigned nine. Four sons of his nurse plotted against him, and slew him, the eldest of whom reigned twelve years. After them came Astartus, the son of Delæastartus, who lived fifty-four years, and reigned twelve. After him came his brother Aserymus, who lived fifty-four years, and reigned nine. He was slain by his brother Pheles, who took the kingdom, and reigned but eight months, though he lived fifty years. He was slain by Ithobalus, the priest of Astarte, who reigned thirty-two years, and lived sixty-eight years. He was succeeded by his son Badezorus, who lived forty-five years, and reigned six. He was succeeded by Matgenus his son, who lived thirty-two years, and reigned nine. Pygmalion succeeded him, who lived fifty-six years, and reigned forty-seven. In the seventh year of his reign, his sister *Dido* fled away from him, and built the city of Carthage in Libya." So the whole time from the reign of Hiram to the building of Carthage amounts to one hundred and fifty-five years and eight months. Since, then, the temple was built at Jerusalem in the twelfth year of the reign of Hiram, there

[1] Probably himself also called Abdemon. See § 17, and Antiq. viii. 5, § 3.

were one hundred and forty-three years and eight months from the building of the temple to the building of Carthage. What need is there then for bringing any more testimonies out of the Phœnician histories? For the truth is seen to be strongly confirmed. And of course our ancestors came into the country long before the building of the temple; for it was not till we had got possession of the whole land by war that we built our temple. These points I have clearly proved out of our sacred writings in my Antiquities.

§ 19. I will now relate what is written about us in the Chaldæan histories, which have great agreement with our books in various respects. Berosus bears me out in what I say: he was by race a Chaldæan, and well known by the learned on account of his publication of the Chaldæan notions of astronomy and philosophy for the use of the Greeks. This Berosus, then, following the most ancient records, has given us a history of the flood, and of the destruction of mankind thereby, very similar to that of Moses; and of the ark wherein Noah, the founder of our race, was preserved, when it was carried to the summit of the Armenian mountains. He then gives us a catalogue of the posterity of Noah, and adds the years of their chronology, and at length comes down to Nabopalassar, who was king of Babylon and of the Chaldæans, and in relating the acts of this king he describes, "How he sent his son Nabuchodonosor against Egypt, and against our land, with a great army, upon his being informed that they had revolted from him, and how he subdued them all, and set our temple that was at Jerusalem on fire, and removed our people entirely from their own country, and transferred them to Babylon. So it happened that Jerusalem was desolate for seventy years until Cyrus king of Persia." He then says that "this Babylonian conquered Egypt, and Syria, and Phœnice, and Arabia, and excelled in his exploits all that had reigned before him in Babylon and Chaldæa." A little lower down Berosus adds what follows in his history of ancient times; I shall set down the very words of Berosus, which are as follows. "When Nabopalassar, father of Nabuchodonosor, heard that the satrap whom he had set over Egypt, and over the regions of

Cœle-Syria and Phœnice, had revolted from him, being unable to bear any longer the fatigues of a campaign, he committed certain parts of his army to his son Nabuchodonosor, who was then but young, and sent him against the rebel. And Nabuchodonosor joined battle with him, and conquered him, and reduced the country at once to his dominion. And it so fell out that his father Nabopalassar fell ill at this time, and died in the city of Babylon, after he had reigned twenty-nine years. And when Nabuchodonosor heard, not long afterwards, that his father was dead, he set the affairs of Egypt and the rest of the district in order, and committed the captives he had taken from the Jews, and Phœnicians, and Syrians, and from the nations belonging to Egypt, to some of his friends, that they might conduct the heavy-armed troops and the baggage to Babylonia, while he himself pushed over the desert with but a few to Babylon. And when he arrived there he found that public affairs had been managed by the Chaldæans, and that the principal person among them had preserved the kingdom for him, so he was now entire master of all his father's dominions, and ordered the captives when they arrived there to be assigned colonies in the most convenient places in Babylonia. As for himself, he adorned the temple of Belus, and the other temples, in a liberal manner, out of the spoils he had taken in war, and rebuilt the old city, and added another to it on the outside, and to prevent any who should afterwards besiege it from having it in their power to divert the river and so enter it, he built three walls about the inner city, and three about the outer. Some of these walls he built of burnt brick and bitumen, and some of brick only. And when he had thus fortified the city with walls in an excellent manner, and had adorned the gates magnificently, he added a new palace to that which his father had dwelt in close by it, and exceeding it in its height and its great splendour. It would perhaps take too much time to describe it, however, prodigiously large and magnificent as it was, it was finished in fifteen days. Now in this palace he erected very high walks, supported by stone pillars, and by planting what was called a hanging paradise, and replenishing it with all sorts of trees, he rendered the prospect an exact resemblance of a mountainous

country, to please his queen, because she had been brought up in Media, and was fond of a mountainous situation."

§ 20. This is what Berosus relates concerning the forementioned king, as he relates many other things about him also in the third book of his Chaldaic history, wherein he complains of the Greek historians for supposing, without any foundation, that Babylon was founded by Semiramis the queen of Assyria, and for falsely stating that those wonderful things there were her workmanship. And indeed in these affairs the Chaldaic history cannot but be the most credible. Moreover, we meet with a confirmation of what Berosus says in the archives of the Phœnicians, concerning this king of the Babylonians, that he[1] conquered Syria and all Phœnice. As to these things Philostratus agrees with the others in his history, when he mentions the siege of Tyre; as does Megasthenes also in the fourth book his Indian history, wherein he tries to prove that the forementioned king of the Babylonians was superior to Hercules in strength and in the greatness of his exploits; for he says that he conquered a great part of Libya and Iberia also. Now, as to what I have said before about the temple at Jerusalem, that it was burnt by the Babylonian army and began to be rebuilt again when Cyrus got the kingdom of Asia, shall now be proved clearly from what Berosus adds further, for he says as follows in his third book: "Nabuchodonosor, after he had begun to build the forementioned wall, fell ill, and departed this life, when he had reigned forty-three years. And his son Evilmerodach obtained the kingdom. He reigned in a lawless and high-handed manner, and had a plot laid against him by Neriglissoor, his sister's husband, and was slain by him when he had reigned two years. After he was slain, Neriglissoor, who had plotted against him, succeeded him in the kingdom, and reigned four years; and his son Laborosoarchod obtained the kingdom, though he was but a lad, and kept it nine months, but because he seemed in most respects an ill-disposed lad, he was beaten to death by his friends. After his death the conspirators assembled together, and

[1] Reading ἐκεῖνος.
[2] South of the Caucasus, between the Black Sea and the Caspian.

by common consent put the crown upon the head of Nabonnedus, a Babylonian who had taken part in the insurrection against Laborosoarchod. It was in his reign that the walls of the city of Babylon near the river were handsomely built of burnt brick and bitumen. But in the seventeenth year of his reign, Cyrus came out of Persia with a great army, and having already conquered all the rest of Asia, marched into Babylonia. When Nabonnedus perceived he was coming to attack him, he met him with his forces, and joined battle with him, and was beaten, and fled away with a few of his troops with him, and was shut up within the city of Borsippus.[1] Thereupon Cyrus took Babylon, and gave orders that the outer walls of the city should be demolished, because the city had proved very troublesome and hard to him to take. He then marched away to Borsippus to besiege Nabonnedus; but as Nabonnedus did not wait for a siege, but delivered himself first into his hands, he was kindly treated by Cyrus, who gave him Carmania[2] to dwell in, but sent him out of Babylonia. And Nabonnedus spent the rest of his time in that country, and there died."

§ 21. This account states the truth as in our books. For it is written in them that Nabuchodonosor in the eighteenth year of his reign destroyed our temple, and that it remained in that state for fifty years; but that in the second year of the reign of Cyrus its foundations were laid again, and it was finished in the second year of the reign of Darius. I will now add the records of the Phœnicians; for we must not omit to give abundance of proofs. The following is the computation of the chronology. "Nabuchodonosor besieged Tyre for thirteen years, in the days of Ithobalus their king. After him reigned Baal ten years. After him were judges appointed, who judged the people, as Ecnibalus, the son of Baslachus, two months, Chelbes, the son of Abdæus, ten months, Abbar, the high priest, three months, Mytgonus and Gerastratus, the sons of Abdelemus, were judges six years. After them Balatorus reigned one year; after whose death they sent and fetched Merbalus from Babylon, who reigned four years. After

[1] Borsippa, *Birs Nimrúd*, on the Tigris.

[2] On the northern side of the Persian Gulf; it included parts of *Laristan*, *Kirman* and *Moghistan*.

his death they sent for his brother Hiram, who reigned twenty years. Under his reign Cyrus became king of Persia." So that the whole time is fifty-four years and three months; for Nabuchodonosor began to besiege Tyre in the seventh year of his reign, and Cyrus the Persian took the kingdom in the fourteenth year of the reign of Hiram. And so the records of the Chaldæans and Tyrians agree with our writings about the temple, and the testimonies here produced are an admitted and indisputable attestation to the antiquity of our nation. And I suppose that what I have already said will be sufficient for such as are not very contentious.

§ 22. But now it is proper to satisfy the desire of those who disbelieve the records of barbarians, and think none but Greeks worthy of credit, and to produce many of those very Greeks who were acquainted with our nation, and to quote such as, when occasion demanded, have made mention of us in their writings. Pythagoras then of Samos,[1] who lived in very ancient times, and was esteemed superior to all philosophers in wisdom and piety towards God, plainly not only knew of our doctrines, but was to a very great degree an admirer of them. There is not indeed extant any admitted writing of his, but many have written his history, of whom Hermippus is the most celebrated, who was a person very painstaking in all sorts of history. Now Hermippus, in his first book concerning Pythagoras, speaks as follows. "Pythagoras, upon the death of one of his intimate friends, whose name was Calliphon, a native of Crotona,[2] affirmed that this man's soul conversed with him both night and day, and enjoined him not to pass over a place where an ass had fallen down, as also not to drink such waters as caused thirst again, and to abstain from all railing." After which he adds the following words. "This he did and said in imitation of the doctrines of the Jews and Thracians, which he transferred into his own philosophy." For it is very truly affirmed of this Pythagoras, that he transferred a great many of the ideas of the Jews into his own philosophy. Nor was our nation unknown of

[1] The island. Jewish War, i. 21, § 11.
[2] *Cotrone*, in Southern Italy.

old to several of the Greek cities, indeed it was thought worthy of imitation by some of them. This is shown by Theophrastus, in his writings concerning laws. For he says that the laws of the Tyrians forbid men to swear foreign oaths; among which he enumerates several others, and particularly that called Corbán; which oath can only be found among the Jews, and signifies, as one may say, when translated from the Hebrew, A gift of God. Nor indeed was Herodotus of Halicarnassus [1] unacquainted with our nation, but clearly mentions us in the following passage in his second book,[2] speaking about the Colchians.[3] His words are as follows. "The only people circumcised originally were the Colchians, the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians. For the Phœnicians, and those Syrians that are in Palestine, confess that they learned it from the Egyptians. As for those Syrians who live near the rivers Thermodon [4] and Parthenius,[5] and their neighbours the Macrones, they say they learned it recently from the Colchians. And these are the only people that are circumcised among mankind, and appear to have acted in the same way as the Egyptians. As for the Egyptians and Ethiopians themselves, I am not able to say which of them learnt the practice from the other." Thus Herodotus says that the Syrians that are in Palestine practise circumcision; but there are no inhabitants of Palestine that are circumcised except the Jews; and so Herodotus must have known and spoken of them. Chœrilus also, a still older writer, and a poet, mentions of our nation that it shared in the expedition of Xerxes king of the Persians against Greece. For in his enumeration of all the nations that did so, he last of all inserts ours among the rest, when he says, "Behind there passed over a people, wonderful to look at, who spoke the Phœnician tongue with their mouths; they dwelt among the mountains of Solyma near a broad lake: their heads were rough and shaven all round, and on the top of them they wore the smoke-dried hides of horses' heads." Now I think it is evident to everybody that Chœrilus means

[1] *Bûdrûm*, on the south-west coast of Asia Minor.
[2] Herodotus, ii. 104.
[3] On the east and south-east shores of the Black Sea.
[4] *Thermeh*, one of the rivers of Pontus, east of *Samsûn*.
[5] A river of Paphlagonia, now the *Bartan Su*.

us, because the mountains of Solyma[1] are in our country, which we inhabit, as is also the lake called Asphaltitis, which is a broader and larger lake than any other that is in Syria: and so Chœrilus makes mention of us. And that not only the commonest Greeks, but those that are held in the greatest admiration for their philosophy, both knew and admired the Jews, when they fell in with any of them, is easy to show. For Clearchus, who was a pupil of Aristotle, and inferior to none of the Peripatetics, says in his first book concerning sleep, that Aristotle his master related what follows of a Jew, and sets down Aristotle's own account, which is as follows. "It would be too long to recite a great part of what this Jew said, but it may not be amiss to quote what includes in it both wonder and philosophy. Know clearly, said he, Hyperochides, I shall seem to thee to relate things like dreams. Then Hyperochides answered modestly, and said, For that very reason all of us desire to hear what you are going to say. Then, replied Aristotle, according to the rule of the rhetoricians, let us first give an account of the man's nation, that so we may not disobey our masters in our narrative. Then said Hyperochides, Say whatever you please. This man then [answered Aristotle] was by race a Jew, and came from Cœle-Syria;[2] these Jews are descendants of the Indian philosophers. For philosophers are called by the Indians Calani, and by the Syrians Judæi, getting that name from the country they inhabit, which is called Judæa. And the name of their city is a very strange one, for they call it Jerusalem. Now this man, being hospitably treated by a great many, and coming down from the interior of the country to the parts near the sea, was a Greek not only in his language, but in his soul also. And when we ourselves dwelt in Asia at that time, he came to the same places where we were and conversed with us, and with other philosophical persons, and tested their wisdom. And as he had lived with many learned men, he communicated to us more information than he received from us." This is Aristotle's account of the matter, as given us by Clearchus, and Aristotle spoke also of the

[1] The mountains of Judæa are apparently intended.

[2] The valley between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. Jewish War, i. 4, § 8.

great and wonderful self-denial of this Jew in his diet and chaste way of living. And those that please may learn more about him from Clearchus' book itself: for I avoid quoting any more than is sufficient for my purpose. Now Clearchus said this, and made mention of us, by way of digression, for his main design was of another nature. But Hecatæus of Abdera,[1] who was both a philosopher and very competent in active life, and was a contemporary of king Alexander in his youth, and was afterwards associated with Ptolemy the son of Lagus, did not write about the Jewish affairs cursorily only, but composed an entire book about the Jews themselves, from which book I intend to extract briefly a few things of which I have been treating. And first I shall show the time when this Hecatæus lived; for he mentions the fight between Ptolemy and Demetrius near Gaza,[2] which was fought the eleventh year after the death of Alexander, and in the one hundred and seventeenth Olympiad, as Castor says in his history. For when he had mentioned that Olympiad, he says, "In this Olympiad Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, beat in battle at Gaza Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who was called Poliorcetes." Now it is agreed by everybody that Alexander died in the hundred and fourteenth Olympiad. It is therefore evident that our nation flourished in his time, and in the time of Alexander. Again Hecatæus speaks as follows. "Ptolemy got possession of the places in Syria after the battle at Gaza; and many men, when they heard of Ptolemy's moderation and humanity, wished to go with him to Egypt, and to share his fortunes; one of whom (Hecatæus says) was Hezekiah, the high priest of the Jews, a man of about sixty-six years of age, held in great esteem among his own people, and a very sensible man, and a very good speaker, and very skilful in the management of affairs, if any one ever was; and yet, he says, all the priests of the Jews, who took tithes of the products of the earth, and managed public affairs, were in number about fifteen hundred." Hecatæus mentions this Hezekiah a second time, and says, "As he received this honour, and became

[1] A town on the south coast of Thrace.
[2] *Ghuzzeh.* Jewish War, i. 4, § 2.

intimate with us, he took some of those that were with him, and read to them all the difference between their habits and ours, as he had our habitation and polity down in writing." Hecatæus shows again what regard we pay to our laws, and that we resolve to endure any thing rather than transgress them, because we think it right to act so. "And so (he adds) although the Jews are in bad reputation among their neighbours, and among all strangers that visit them, and have been often treated very badly by the kings and satraps of Persia, yet can they not be dissuaded from acting as they think right, but in their forlorn condition most bravely bear the torments inflicted upon them, and the most terrible kinds of death, on this account, and will not renounce the religion of their forefathers." Hecatæus also affords not a few proofs of this obstinacy of theirs in regard to their laws. For he says, "When Alexander was once at Babylon, and purposed to rebuild the temple of Belus that was fallen to decay, and so commanded all his soldiers alike to bring earth there, the Jews and they only would not comply with that command, but underwent many stripes and suffered great punishments, till the king forgave them, and permitted them to live in quiet." He adds further, "That when the Macedonians went into their country, and constructed temples and altars, the Jews demolished them all, and either paid the penalty to the satraps, or sometimes obtained forgiveness. He adds further, "That these men deserve to be admired on that account." He also speaks of the populousness of our nation, and says, "That the Persians formerly carried away many myriads of our people to Babylon, as also that not a few myriads were removed after Alexander's death into Egypt and Phœnice, because of an insurrection that arose in Syria." The same Hecatæus has recorded in his history the extent of the country which we inhabit, as well as its beauty; for he says, "The land which the Jews inhabit contains three millions of arouræ,[1] and is generally of most

[1] This number of arouræ, or Egyptian acres, as contained in the country of Judæa, will be about one-third of the entire number of arouræ in the whole land of Judæa, supposing it 160 miles long, and seventy miles broad; which estimation, for the fruitful parts of it, as perhaps here in Hecatæus, is not therefore very wide from the truth.

excellent and fruitful soil; for such are the dimensions of Judæa." Moreover, that we have inhabited from the most ancient times the most beautiful and large city of Jerusalem, as also about our population, and about the construction of the temple, he speaks as follows. "There are many strongholds and villages in the country of Judæa; and one strong city there is, about fifty furlongs in circumference, which is inhabited by about a hundred and twenty thousand men; they call it Jerusalem. There is about the middle of the city an enclosure of stone, in length five hundred feet, and in breadth a hundred cubits, with two gates. And in this enclosure is a square altar, not made of hewn stone, but merely composed of unwrought stones gathered together, having each side twenty cubits long, and in height ten cubits. Hard by it is a large edifice, wherein is an altar and candlestick both of gold, two talents in weight. Upon these is a light that is never extinguished either by night or day. And there is no image or votive offering therein at all, nor is there any thing planted there at all, as grove or any thing else of the kind. The priests stay in the temple both nights and days, performing certain purifications, and drinking not the least drop of wine while they are in the temple." Moreover he attests that we Jews served in the army under king Alexander, and afterwards under his successors. I will add further what he says happened in the case of a man who was a Jew, when he was himself on the same expedition. His words are as follows. "As I was myself going to the Red Sea, we were accompanied by a man whose name was Mosollamus, who was one of the Jewish horsemen who conducted us; he was a person of great courage, and of a strong body,

The fifty furlongs in compass for the city of Jerusalem presently are not very wide from the truth also, as Josephus himself, Jewish War, v. 4. § 3, makes its wall thirty-three furlongs, besides the suburbs and gardens; nay, he says, v. 12, § 2, that Titus' wall about it, at some small distance, after the gardens and suburbs were destoyed, was not less than thirty-nine furlongs. Nor perhaps were its constant inhabitants, in the days of Hecatæus, many more than these 120,000, because room was always to be left for vastly greater numbers which came up at the three great festivals; to say nothing of the probable increase in their number between the days of Hecatæus and Josephus, which was at least 300 years.—W.

and allowed by all to be the most skilful archer either among the Greeks or barbarians. Now this man, as many were passing along the road, and a certain augur was observing a bird for the purpose of augury, and required them all to stand still, inquired why they halted. Thereupon the augur showed him the bird from which he was taking his augury, and told him, if the bird stayed where it was, they ought all to stand still, but if it got up and flew on they must go forward, but if it flew back, they must retire again. Mosollamus made no reply, but drew his bow, and shot at the bird, and hit it, and killed it. And as the augur and some others were very angry, and uttered imprecations against him, he answered them as follows. "Why are you so mad as to take this most unhappy bird into your hands? for how can this bird give us any true information concerning our march, seeing that it could not foresee how to save itself; for had it been able to foreknow the future, it would not have come to this place, but would have been afraid that Mosollamus the Jew would shoot at it, and kill it." But of Hecatæus' testimonies I have said enough: for such as desire to know more of them can easily peruse his book. However, I shall not shrink from naming Agatharchides, who has mentioned us Jews, though in way of derision at our simplicity, as he supposes it to be, in narrating about Stratonice, how she went out of Macedonia into Syria, and left her husband Demetrius, though Seleucus would not marry her as she expected, and how, while he was raising an army at Babylon, she stirred up an insurrection at Antioch; and how, upon the king's return and capture of Antioch, she fled to Seleucia,[1] and though it was in her power to sail away immediately, listened to a dream that forbade her to do so, and so was taken and put to death. When Agatharchides had related this story, and jested at Stratonice for her superstition, he gives a similar example of what was reported about us, and writes as follows. "There are a people called Jews, who dwell in the strongest of all cities, which its inhabitants call Jerusalem, who are accustomed to rest every seventh day,[2] at which times they do

[1] Seleucia, the port of Antioch, near the mouth of the Orontes.

[2] A glorious testimony this of the observation of the Sabbath by the

not carry arms, nor meddle with husbandry, nor attend to any of the affairs of life, but spread out their hands in their temple, and pray till the evening. Now when Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, came into this city with his army, these men observed this mad custom of theirs instead of guarding the city, and so their country had to submit to a bitter lord, and their law was openly proved to have a foolish practice. This event taught all other men but the Jews to disregard dreams, and traditional fancies of their law, when in the uncertainty of human reason they were at a loss what to do." Now this behaviour of ours seems ridiculous to Agatharchides, but it will appear great and worthy of many encomiums, to such as consider it without prejudice, that any people should constantly prefer the observation of their laws, and their religion towards God, to the preservation of themselves and their country.

§ 23. Next, I think I can prove that some writers have omitted to mention our nation, not because they knew nothing of us, but because they envied us, or for some other unjustifiable reasons. For Hieronymus, who wrote the history of [Alexander's] successors, lived at the same time as Hecatæus, and was a friend of king Antigonus, and was governor of Syria. But Hecatæus wrote an entire book concerning us, while Hieronymus nowhere mentions us in his history, although he was bred up very near the places where we live. So different are the views of men; while the one thought we deserved careful attention, some ill-disposed passion blinded the other's mind so entirely, that he could not discern the truth. However, these records of the Egyptians and Chaldæans and Phœnicians, and so many of the Greek writers in addition to them, are certainly sufficient to prove our antiquity. Moreover, besides those I have mentioned, Theophilus, and Theodotus, and Mnaseas, and Aristophanes, and Hermogenes, and Euhemerus, and Conon, and Zopyrion, and perhaps several others (for I have not perused all books), have made no mere incidental mention of us. It is true that most of those I have men-

Jews. See Antiq. xvi. 2, § 4, and 6, § 2; Life, § 54; and Jewish War, iv. 9, § 12.—W.

tioned have made mistakes about the true history of our nation in the earliest times, because they had not perused our sacred books; but all of them in common have borne testimony to our antiquity, the subject which I am now treating. And Demetrius Phalereus, and the elder Philo, and Eupolemus, have not greatly deviated from absolute correctness. Their mistakes ought therefore to be forgiven them; for it was not in their power to follow our writings with entire accuracy.

§ 24. One main point still remains of those I at first proposed to speak about, and that is to show that the calumnies and reproaches, which some have thrown upon our nation, are lies, and to make use of those writers' own testimonies against themselves. For that this has happened to many other authors, because of their ill-will to some people, I think is not unknown to such as have read histories with sufficient care. For some writers have endeavoured to tarnish the lustre of nations and most glorious cities, and to cast reproaches upon certain forms of government. Thus Theopompus railed against Athens, and Polycrates against Lacedæmon, as he that wrote the Tripoliticus (who is not Theopompus, as is supposed by some) did against Thebes.[1] Timæus also in his histories has greatly railed against those states I have mentioned and against others also. And they act so chiefly when they have to deal with people of the greatest reputation, some out of envy and malignity, and others supposing that by their novel style of writing they may be thought worthy of being remembered themselves. And indeed they do by no means fail of this hope among foolish people, but men of sober judgment censure their great malignity.

§ 25. Now the Egyptians were the first that cast reproaches upon us; and some others, wishing to please them, attempted to pervert the truth, who would neither own that our forefathers went into Egypt from another country, as the fact was, nor would give the true account of our departure from thence. And indeed the Egyptians had many reasons to hate and envy us, first because our ances-

[1] Thebes in Bœotia.

tors[1] ruled over their country, and when they removed from Egypt to their own country again, lived there in prosperity; and next the difference between our religion and theirs excited great animosity in them, as our mode of divine worship did as much exceed that which their laws appointed, as the nature of God exceeds that of brute beasts. For it is the common custom of their country to esteem animals as gods, although they differ individually in the worship they pay to them, being men entirely stupid and foolish, accustomed from the beginning to have erroneous ideas about the gods. For they could not induce themselves to imitate the dignity of our theology, but when they saw us approved of by many, they were moved with envy. For some of them proceeded to that degree of folly and meanness, that they did not scruple to contradict their own ancient records, nay, to contradict themselves also in their writings, and yet were so blinded by their passions as not to discern it.

§ 26. I will now turn my discourse to one of their principal writers, whom I quoted a little before as a witness to our antiquity, I mean Manetho. Now he, having undertaken to interpret the Egyptian history out of the sacred writings, first stated that our ancestors had come into Egypt, many myriads in number, and subdued its inhabitants, and then himself confessed that they went out of that country some time afterwards and settled in the country which is now called Judæa, and founded Jerusalem and built the temple. Now thus far he followed the ancient records, but afterwards he permitted himself, that he might say he had recorded[2] the legends and stories current about the Jews, to introduce incredible narrations, wishing to mix up with us the multitude of the Egyptians, who were lepers, and were condemned for other distempers, as he says, to flee from Egypt. For he mentions king Amenophis, a fictitious name, and so he durst not set down the number of years of his reign, though he had accurately done so as to the other kings he mentions,

[1] The Phœnician shepherds, whom Josephus mistook for the Israelites. See § 16.—W.

[2] I read φάναι γράψαι.

and ascribes certain fabulous stories to this king, having pretty well forgotten what he had before related, that the departure of the shepherds for Jerusalem was five hundred and eighteen years before; for Tethmosis was king when they departed. Now the reigns of the kings afterwards, according to Manethé, amounted to three hundred and ninety-three years, to the two brothers Sethos and Hermæus, of whom the one Sethos was also called Ægyptus, and the other Hermæus was called Danaus. He also says that Sethos expelled Hermæus from Egypt, and reigned fifty-nine years, and that his eldest son Rampses reigned after him sixty-six years. When Manetho had therefore acknowledged that our forefathers had gone out of Egypt so many years before, he then introduces his fictitious king Amenophis, and says that he desired to see the gods, as Orus, one of his predecessors in the kingdom, had done, and that he communicated his desire to his namesake Amenophis, the son of Paapis, who seemed to partake of a divine nature both as to wisdom and the knowledge of the future. Manetho adds that this namesake of his told him that he might see the gods, if he would clear the whole country of the lepers and other impure people; and that the king was pleased with this answer, and got together all that had any defect in their bodies in Egypt (the number of whom was eighty thousand), whom he sent to the quarries which were on the east side of the Nile, that they might work in them, and might be separated from the rest of the Egyptians. He says also that there were some of the learned priests among them afflicted with the leprosy. Now this Amenophis, the wise man and seer, was afraid that the gods would be angry at him and at the king, if violence should appear to have been offered these afflicted persons; and he also added that certain people would come to the assistance of these impure persons, and would be masters of Egypt for thirteen years. However, he durst not tell the king of these things, but he left a writing behind him about all these matters, and then slew himself. And the king was disconsolate. After which Manetho writes as follows verbatim. "After those that were sent to work in the quarries had continued in that miserable state for a long while, the king being asked that he

would set apart the city of Auaris,[1] which was then left empty of shepherds, for their habitation and protection, granted what was asked. Now this city, according to the ancient theology, was Typhon's city. And when these men had got into it, and found the place fit for a revolt, they appointed as their leader one of the priests of Heliopolis,[2] whose name was Osarsiph, and they took oaths that they would be obedient to him in all things. And he first drew up the following laws for them, that they should neither worship the Egyptian gods, nor keep their hands off any of those sacred animals which the Egyptians held in the highest esteem, but kill and destroy them all, and that they should associate with none but those that belonged to their confederacy. After having made such laws as these and very many more, mostly contrary to the customs of the Egyptians, he gave orders that the many hands they had should build walls round their city, and make themselves ready for a war against king Amenophis. He next, in co-operation with the other priests and polluted persons, sent messengers to those shepherds who had been driven out of the land by Tethmosis to the city called Jerusalem; and informed them of the state of his own affairs, and of those others who had been treated in an ignominious manner, and begged that they would join him with one accord in an expedition against Egypt. He also promised that he would first restore them to their ancestral city of Auaris, and provide plentiful maintenance for their multitudes, and that he would fight for them when necessary, and would easily bring the district under their dominion. And they were all very glad at this message, and set out with zeal all together, being in number two hundred thousand men, and soon reached Auaris. And Amenophis, the king of Egypt, on being informed of their approach, was in great concern, remembering what Amenophis, the son of Paapis, had foretold him. And first he assembled the multitude of the Egyptians, and took counsel with their leaders, and had the sacred animals that were chiefly worshipped in their temples brought to himself, and particularly charged the priests that they should

[1] Now *Haouâr*. [2] *Matarîyeh*, N.N.E. of Cairo.

hide the images of the gods with the utmost care. He also sent his son Sethos (who was also called Ramesses after his father Rampses), who was only five years old, to a friend of his. He then passed on with the rest of the Egyptians, who were three hundred thousand of the most warlike, and met the enemy, but did not join battle with them, but thinking that would be to fight against the gods, returned back and went to Memphis,[1] where he took Apis and the other sacred animals that he had had sent for, and at once marched into Ethiopia with his whole army and multitude of Egyptians. For the king of Ethiopia was under an obligation to him, so he received him, and took care of all the multitudes that were with him, for the district supplied all that was necessary for the food of the men. He also allotted them sufficient cities and villages for the fated thirteen years of exile from the king's dominions. Moreover, he stationed his Ethiopian army as a guard for king Amenophis and his men on the borders of Egypt. Such was the state of things in Ethiopia. But the people of Jerusalem, when they invaded Egypt with the polluted Egyptians, treated the people in such a barbarous manner, that their conquest seemed the worst of evils to those who beheld at the time their impious deeds. For they not only set cities and villages on fire, and were not satisfied with being guilty of sacrilege and destroying the wooden images of the gods, but also used them continually in roasting the sacred animals that used to be worshipped, and forced the priests and prophets to be the sacrificers and slayers of those animals, and then ejected them from the country naked. It is also reported, that the priest, who founded their polity and laws, was a native of Heliopolis, and that his name was Osarsiph, from Osiris, who was the god of Heliopolis, but that, when he had gone over to these people, his name was changed, and he was called Moses."

§ 27. This and much more, which I omit for the sake of brevity, do the Egyptians relate about the Jews. And Manetho says again that Amenophis returned from Ethiopia after this with a great army, as did his son

[1] Jewish War, i. 9, § 4.

Rampses with an army also, and that both of them joined battle with the shepherds and the polluted people, and beat them, and slew a great many of them, and pursued them as far as the borders of Syria. These and similar accounts are written by Manetho. But I shall prove that he writes foolishly and tells evident lies, after I have first made a remark which will bear on what I am going to say about him. This Manetho has conceded and admitted that our nation was not originally Egyptian, but had come from another country, and subdued Egypt, and then went away again out of it. And I shall endeavour to prove from Manetho's own account that those Egyptians, who were thus diseased in their bodies, were not associated with us afterwards, and that Moses, the leader of the people, was not one of them, but lived many generations earlier.

§ 28. Now as to the first statement in his romance, Manetho supposes what is ridiculous. He says that "king Amenophis desired to see the gods." What gods, pray, did he desire to see? If he meant the gods whom their laws ordered to be worshipped, as the ox, and the goat, and the crocodiles, and the dog-faced baboons, he saw them already; but how could he see the heavenly gods? And why had he this desire? Because, by Zeus, another king before him had already seen them! He had therefore learned from him what sort of gods they were, and how he had seen them, so that he did not stand in need of any new artifice. Furthermore, Manetho tells us that this prophet, by whom the king thought to compass his design, was a wise man. If so, how came he not to know that his desire was impossible? for the event did not come off. And what grounds had he to suppose that the gods could not be seen because of people's maims in their bodies or leprosy? for the gods are not angry at the imperfection of bodies, but at wicked acts. And as to eighty thousand persons, who were either lepers or otherwise afflicted, how is it possible they could have been gathered together in one day? Nay, how came the king not to comply with the prophet? For his injunction was, that those that were maimed should be expelled from Egypt, while the king only sent them to work in the quarries, as if he were rather in want of labourers than intended to purge the country. Manetho says also that

the prophet slew himself, foreseeing the anger of the gods, and the events which would come to pass in Egypt afterwards, and that he left his prediction for the king in writing. But how came it to pass that the prophet did not foreknow his own death at first? nay, how came he not to contradict the king at once when he desired to see the gods? how was that fear of evils that were not to happen in his lifetime reasonable? nay, what worse thing could he have suffered, which made him in such a haste to kill himself? But now let us see the silliest thing of all. Although the king had been informed of these things, and terrified with the fear of what was to come, yet did he not even then eject these maimed people out of his country, though it had been foretold him that he was to clear Egypt of them; but, as Manetho says, "he then, upon their request, gave them that city to inhabit, which had formerly been inhabited by the shepherds, and was called Auaris. And when they had gone there *en masse* (he continues), they chose one who had formerly been a priest, and native of Heliopolis, to be their leader, and he ordered them neither to worship the Egyptian gods, nor to keep their hands off those animals that were worshipped by the Egyptians, but to kill and eat them all, and to associate with nobody but those who belonged to their confederacy; and he bound the multitude by oaths that they would verily abide by his laws; and when he had fortified Auaris, he made war against the king." Manetho also adds that "this priest sent to Jerusalem, to invite the people there to come to his assistance, and promised to give them Auaris; for it had belonged to the forefathers of those who would come from Jerusalem; for they might make it their *point d'appui*, and get possession of all Egypt." He says also that "they came with an army of two hundred thousand men, and that Amenophis, the king of Egypt, not thinking that he ought to fight against the gods, ran away at once into Ethiopia, and committed Apis and some other of their sacred animals to the priests, and commanded them to take care of them." He says next that "the people of Jerusalem came and overthrew their cities, and burnt their temples, and slew their horsemen, and in short abstained from no

sort of wickedness or barbarity. As for the priest who settled their polity and their laws, he was (he says) a native of Heliopolis, and his name was Osarsiph, from Osiris the god of Heliopolis, but he changed his name, and called himself Moses." He then says that "in the thirteenth year afterwards Amenophis, according to the fated time of the duration of his exile, set out from Ethiopia with a great army, and fought a battle with the shepherds and the polluted people, and overcame them, and slew a great many of them, and pursued them as far as the borders of Syria."

§ 29. Here again Manetho does not reflect upon the improbability of his false account. For even if the lepers and the multitude with them were before angry with the king, and with those who had treated them so badly, according to the prediction of the prophet, yet when they had come out of the quarries, and had received from the king a city and district, they would certainly have grown milder towards him. But if they did hate him, they might have laid a private plot against himself, but would hardly have made war against all the Egyptians, because of the great quantity of kinsfolk they must have had, as they were so numerous. Moreover, if they had resolved to fight with the men, they would not have dared to fight against their gods, nor would they have made laws quite contrary to those of their own country in which they had been themselves bred up. But we ought to feel beholden to Manetho, in that he does not make those that came from Jerusalem the ringleaders in this lawlessness, but says that it was the Egyptians themselves, and that it was their priests who mainly contrived these things, and made the multitude take their oaths. But how absurd it is to suppose that none of these people's own relations or friends could be prevailed upon to revolt, or to undergo the hazards of war with them, and that they sent to Jerusalem for these polluted people, and got auxiliaries from thence! What friendship, pray, or what relations had there formerly been between them? Why, on the contrary, these people were enemies, and differed from them in most of their customs. And he says that they complied immediately, upon their promising them that they should occupy Egypt, as if they did not

themselves very well know the state of the country out of which they had been driven by force. Now had these men been in want or misery, perhaps they might have undertaken so hazardous an enterprize; but as they dwelt in a rich city, and had a large territory, and one better than Egypt itself, how was it at all likely that for the sake of those who had of old been their enemies, and for those who were maimed in their bodies, whom none of their own relations would endure, they should run such hazards in assisting them? For they could not of course foresee that the king would run away from them. Nay, Manetho says himself, that "Amenophis' son had three hundred thousand men with him, and met them at Pelusium."[1] Now those that came could not be ignorant of all this; and how could they possibly conjecture that the king would repent and flee? He then says that those who made this invasion from Jerusalem, when they got Egypt into their possession, perpetrated many dreadful actions. And he reproaches them about these things, as though he had not himself introduced them as enemies, or as though he might justly accuse such as were invited from another place for so doing, when the native Egyptians had done the same things themselves before their coming, and had taken oaths so to do! "However, Amenophis (he adds) some time afterwards came upon them, and conquered them in battle, and slew his enemies, and drove them before him as far as Syria." As if Egypt were so easily taken by people that came from any place whatever, and as if those that had just conquered it by war, though they knew that Amenophis was alive, neither fortified the passes from Ethiopia into it, although they had great opportunity for doing so, nor got their other forces ready for their defence. "But (he says) he followed them over the sand of the desert, slaying them all the way, as far as Syria." Now it is plainly no easy thing for an army to cross the desert even without fighting.

§ 30. Our nation, therefore, according to Manetho, was not derived from Egypt, nor were any of the Egyptians mixed with us. For it is probable that many of the lepers and diseased people died in the quarries, since they had been

[1] *Vide*, Jewish War, i. 8, § 7.

there a long time and had been badly treated, and that many died in the battles that happened afterwards, and more still in the last battle and flight.

§ 31. It now remains that I contradict Manetho as to Moses. The Egyptians think him a wonderful and divine person, and wish to claim him for themselves, though with unplausible abuse they say that he was one of the priests of Heliopolis who was ejected with others because of his leprosy. Yet it is proved by the records that he lived five hundred and eighteen years earlier, and brought our fathers out of Egypt into the country that is now inhabited by us. And that he was not personally afflicted with any such calamity, is evident from his own laws. For he has forbidden lepers either to continue in a city, or to dwell in a village, and has commanded that they should go about by themselves with their clothes rent; and regards such as either touch them, or live under the same roof with them, as unclean. Moreover, if any one be healed of the disease and recover his normal condition again, he has appointed certain purifications, and washings in baths of spring water, and the shaving off all the hair, and enjoins that they shall offer several sacrifices of various kinds, and then only be admitted into the holy city. Now, had he suffered from the same calamity, so far from legislating thus, he would have taken care of such persons, and treated them in a kind manner, as being in the same evil plight with himself. Nor did he make such laws only for lepers, but also he did not permit such as were maimed in the smallest part of their body to officiate as priests: and if any priest should have such a calamity fall upon him afterwards, he ordered him to be deprived of his position. How then is it likely that Moses should ordain such laws against himself, to his own reproach and hurt? Nor indeed is that other notion of Manetho's at all probable about the change of his name. He says that he was formerly called Osarsiph. But this is a name no way agreeable to the other. For his true name was Moüses,[1] and signifies a person preserved out of

[1] Note this is always the Greek form of Moses in Josephus and the Greek Testament and elsewhere. I have kept generally the more familiar Moses.

the water, for the Egyptians call water Moü. I think, therefore, I have made it sufficiently evident that Manetho did not much wander from the truth while he followed the ancient records, but that, when he turned to unauthorized stories of uncertain authors, he either concoted them himself without any plausibility, or else gave credit to some men who spoke so out of ill-will to us.

§ 32. And now I have done with Manetho, and will inquire into what Chæremon says. For he also, professing to write Egyptian history, sets down the same name for his king as Manetho did, namely Amenophis, and also calls his son Ramesses, and then goes on as follows: "The goddess Isis appeared to Amenophis in his sleep, and blamed him because her temple had been demolished in the war. And Phritiphantes the sacred scribe told him, if he would purge Egypt of the men who had pollutions upon them, that he would be no longer troubled with such scares. Amenophis accordingly chose out two hundred and fifty thousand of those who were thus diseased, and expelled them from the country. And their leaders Moses and Joseph were scribes, and Joseph was a sacred scribe: and their names were Egyptian originally, that of Moses was Tisithen, and that of Joseph Peteseph. And these two went to Pelusium, and fell in there with three hundred and eighty thousand who had been left there by Amenophis, as he was unwilling to transfer them to Egypt. And these two made a league of friendship with them, and led them on an expedition against Egypt. And Amenophis could not stand against their attack, but fled into Ethiopia, and left his wife behind him, who was with child, and lay concealed in certain caverns, and there she brought forth a son, whose name was Messenes,[1] who, when he was grown up to man's estate, pursued the Jews, who were about two hundred thousand, into Syria, and then restored his father Amenophis from Ethiopia."

§ 33. This is the account Chæremon gives us. Now I take it as obvious at once that what I have already said has plainly proved the falseness of both Manetho's and his accounts. For had there been any real truth at bottom, it

[1] Probably we should read here Ramesses, as in § 33.

is impossible there would have been such great discrepancy between them. But those who concoct lies do not write what agrees with others, but invent what pleases themselves. Thus Manetho says that the king's desire of seeing the gods was the cause of the ejection of the polluted people; but Chæremon has made it a dream of his sent him by Isis. Manetho again says that the person who suggested this purgation of Egypt to the king was Amenophis, but Chæremon says it was Phritiphantes. As to the numbers of the people that were expelled, they agree admirably, Manetho reckoning them as eighty thousand, and Chæremon as two hundred and fifty thousand! Moreover, Manetho describes these polluted persons as first sent to work in the quarries, and says that after that the city Auaris was given them for their habitation, and that it was not till after they had made war with the rest of the Egyptians, that they invited the people of Jerusalem to come to their assistance; but Chæremon says that on their departure from Egypt they fell in with three hundred and eighty thousand men near Pelusium, who had been left there by Amenophis, and that they invaded Egypt with them again, and that Amenophis fled into Ethiopia. But what is most rich, Chæremon does not inform us who this army of so many ten thousands were, or whence they came, whether they were native Egyptians, or whether they came from a foreign country; nor indeed has he given any reason why the king would not take them into Egypt, though he concocted a dream from Isis about the lepers. Chæremon also describes Joseph as expelled at the same time as Moses, though he died four generations before Moses, which four generations make about a hundred and seventy years. Moreover, Ramesses, the son of Amenophis, was a young man by Manetho's account, and assisted his father in war, and left the country at the same time as him, and fled with him into Ethiopia; whereas Chæremon makes him to have been born in a certain cave after his father was dead, and then to have overcome the Jews in battle, and driven them into Syria, being in number about two hundred thousand. O the recklessness of the man! For he neither told us before who these three hundred and eighty thousand were, nor how the four hundred and thirty thousand perished,

whether they fell in war, or went over to Ramesses! And, what is the strangest of all, it is not possible to learn from him who they were whom he calls Jews, or to which of these two parties he applies that name, whether to the two hundred and fifty thousand lepers, or to the three hundred and eighty thousand in the neighbourhood of Pelusium. But perhaps it would be silly in me to make any lengthier refutation of such writers as sufficiently refute themselves; for had they been only refuted by others, it would have been more tolerable!

§ 34. I shall now add to these writers Lysimachus, who has taken the same line of falsehood as those beforementioned, but has gone far beyond them in the incredibility of his fictions: which plainly shows that he concocted them out of virulent hatred to our nation. His words are as follows. "The people of the Jews being lepers and scabby, and having other diseases, in the days of Bocchoris king of Egypt, fled to the temples, and got their food there by begging; and as the numbers were very great that were afflicted with disease, there arose a scarcity in Egypt. Thereupon Bocchoris, the king of Egypt, sent some to consult the oracle of Zeus Ammon about this scarcity; and the god's answer was that he must purge his temples of impure and impious men, by expelling them out of those temples into desert places; but as to the scabby people and lepers, he must drown them, the sun being indignant at these men being suffered to live, and purge his temples, and then the land would bring forth its fruits. When Bocchoris had received these oracles, he called for the priests and attendants at the altars, and ordered them to gather together the impure people, and to deliver them to the soldiers to carry away to the desert, but to take the lepers and wrap them in sheets of lead, and let them down into the sea. Thereupon the lepers and scabby people were drowned, and the others were gathered together and sent into desert places, to be exposed to destruction. And these last assembled together, and took counsel what they should do, and determined, as the night was coming on, that they would kindle fires and light lamps and keep watch, and that they would fast the next night, and so propitiate the gods to deliver them. And on the

next day one Moses advised them to venture upon a journey, and go along one road, till they should come to inhabited places, and charged them to have no kindness for any man, and to give good counsel to none, but always to advise people for the worst, and to overturn all the temples and altars of the gods they should meet with. And as the rest commended what he said, they did what was resolved on, and journeyed over the desert, and after suffering a good many hardships came to an inhabited country, and there they ill-treated the men, and plundered and burnt their temples, and went into the land which is now called Judæa, and there built a city and dwelt therein; and their city was called Hierosyla from this spoiling of the temples; but afterwards being successful, in process of time they changed its name, that it might not be a reproach to them, and called the city Hierosolyma,[1] and themselves Hierosolymi."

§ 35. Now this man did not invent the same name for his king as Manetho and Chæremon, but concocted a newer name, and omitting the dream and the Egyptian prophet, sent his king to Zeus Ammon to get oracles about the lepers and scabby people. For he says that a multitude of Jews gathered together at the temples. Now it is uncertain whether he ascribes the name of Jews to all these lepers, or to those Jews only that were subject to such diseases; for he says the people of the Jews. What people do you mean? foreigners or natives? Why do you call them Jews, if they were Egyptians? And if they were foreigners, why do you not tell us where they came from? And how is it that, after the king had drowned many of them in the sea, and ejected the rest into desert places, there could still be so great a multitude remaining? Or how did they pass over the desert, and get possession of the land which we now dwell in, and found a city, and build that temple which has been famous among all mankind? Lysimachus ought also not only to have given our legislator's name, but also to have informed us of what nation he was, and what parents he sprung from, and to have stated why he undertook to make such laws for them concerning the gods, and why he ordered them to act so

[1] Jerusalem.

harshly to people on their march. For if they were by birth Egyptians, they would not so easily have changed the customs of their country: and if they were foreigners, they had certainly some laws which had been observed by them from long custom. If indeed they had sworn never to bear good-will to those who had ejected them, they would have had a plausible reason for so acting, but to resolve to wage an implacable war against all men, if they acted as badly as he says they did, while they needed the assistance of all men, shows not their folly, but the great folly of him who tells such lies, who has also the assurance to say, that a name implying spoiling[1] of temples was given to their city, and that this name was afterwards changed; obviously because the former name brought reproach and hatred upon them in subsequent times, while those who founded the city thought they did honour to it by giving it that name. Now this fine fellow had such an unbounded inclination to reproach us, that he did not observe that spoiling of temples is not expressed by the same word among the Jews as it is among the Greeks! But why should one say any more to a person who tells such impudent lies? However, since this book has reached such large dimensions, I will make another beginning, and endeavour to add what still remains to complete my design.

BOOK II.

§ 1.

IN the former book, my most honoured Epaphroditus, I have shown our antiquity, and confirmed the truth by the writings of the Phœnicians and Chaldæans and Egyptians. I have, moreover, produced many of the Greek writers as witnesses thereto. I have also made a refutation of Manetho and Chæremon and some others.

[1] This is the meaning of Hierosyla in Greek, not in Hebrew. See § 34.—W.

I shall now therefore[1] begin a refutation of the remaining authors who have written anything against us, although I confess I have had a doubt about Apion the grammarian, whether I ought to take the trouble of confuting him or not. For some of his writings contain much the same accusations which others have laid against us, and some things that he has added are very frigid, and most of what he says is very scurrilous, and, to speak no more than the plain truth, shows great ignorance, and what he has put together looks like the work of a man of very bad morals, and of one during his whole life a mountebank. Yet since most men are so foolish that they are rather caught by such orations than by what is written with care, and take pleasure in abuse, but are vexed at praise, I thought it to be necessary not to let this man go off without examination, who had written such an indictment against us, as if in open court. For I also have observed that it is usual for most men to be much delighted when a man, who first began to reproach another, is himself proved to be guilty of vices. However, it is not easy to peruse his argument, nor to know clearly what he means; yet does he seem, amidst a great confusion and disorder in his falsehoods, to relate such things as resemble what I have examined already as to the departure of our forefathers out of Egypt, and secondly he accuses the Jews who dwell in Alexandria. And thirdly he mixes with these things accusations as to the sacred purifications and other rites used in the temple.

§ 2. Now although I cannot but think that I have already proved, and that much more than was necessary, that our fathers were not originally Egyptians, and were not expelled from thence either on account of bodily disease or any other calamities of that sort, yet I will briefly take notice of what Apion adds upon that subject. For in the third book of his Ægyptiaca he speaks as

[1] The former part of this second book is written against the calumnies of Apion, and then more briefly against the calumnies of Apollonius Molo. After that Josephus leaves off any more particular reply to those adversaries of the Jews, and gives us a large and excellent description and vindication of the polity which was ordained for the Jewish nation by Moses, their great legislator.—W.

follows. "I have heard from old Egyptians that Moses was a native of Heliopolis, and that he thought himself obliged to follow the customs of his forefathers, and offered his prayers in the open air at all the city walls, and turned all the city so as to face east, which is the situation of Heliopolis. He also set up pillars instead of gnomons,[1] under which was represented a figure in relief like a concave sundial, and the shadow that fell from their tops fell down upon it, that it might go round the same course as the sun itself goes round in the ether." Such is the wonderful account of this grammarian. But that it is a false one is so plain, that it stands in need of but few words to prove it, for it is manifest from the facts. For when Moses erected the first tabernacle to God, he neither himself ordered any such kind of figure in relief to be made for it, nor did he order those that came after him to make such a one. And when Solomon afterwards built his temple in Jerusalem, he abstained from all such curiosities as Apion has here invented. He says further that he had heard from old men, that Moses was a native of Heliopolis, doubtless because, being a younger man himself, he believed that those owing to their greater age were acquainted with and had conversed with Moses! Now Apion, critic as he was, could not confidently tell us the poet Homer's birth-place, any more than he could the birth-place of Pythagoras, who lived comparatively speaking but a little while ago; yet he thus easily determines the age of Moses, who preceded them such a vast number of years, relying on the old men's tale, showing what a liar he was. And then as to the date when he says Moses brought the lepers and the blind and lame out of Egypt, see how well this most accurate critic agrees with those who have written before him! For Manetho says that the Jews departed out of Egypt in the reign of Tethmosis, three hundred and ninety-three years before Danaus fled to Argos, and Lysimachus says it was in the days of king Bocchoris, that is, one thousand and seven hundred years ago, and

[1] This seems to have been the first dial that had been made in Egypt, and was a little before the time that Ahaz made his dial in Judæa, about 755, in the first year of the seventh Olympiad, as we shall see presently. See 2 Kings xx. 11; Isa. xxxviii. 8.—W.

Molo and some others have fixed the time as they pleased; but this Apion, the most trustworthy of all, has exactly fixed it to have been in the seventh Olympiad, and in the first year of that Olympiad, the very same year in which he says that Carthage was built by the Phœnicians. He no doubt added this building of Carthage, thinking it would be a very clear proof of his accuracy: but he was not aware that he thereby drew refutation on himself. For if we may credit the Phœnician records as to their colony, they record that Hiram their king was more than a hundred and fifty years earlier than the building of Carthage, concerning whom I have formerly produced proofs out of those Phœnician records, that this Hiram was a friend of Solomon, when he was building the temple at Jerusalem, and that he gave him great assistance in building it. But Solomon himself built that temple six hundred and twelve years after the Jews went out of Egypt. As for the number of those that were expelled out of Egypt, Apion has contrived to have the very same number as Lysimachus, for he says they were a hundred and ten thousand. He then assigns a certain wonderful and plausible cause for the name of Sabbath; for he says that "when the Jews had travelled six days' journey, they had buboes, and so they rested on the seventh day, having got safely into the country which is now called Judæa, and they called that day Sabbath, preserving the language of the Egyptians, because that malady of buboes was called Sabbatosis by the Egyptians." Would not anyone now laugh at this fellow's trifling, or rather hate his impudence in writing thus? For it is clear that all these hundred and ten thousand men had these buboes. And yet, if those men had been blind and lame, and had all sorts of diseases, as Apion says they had, they could not have gone a single day's journey: and if they were able to travel over a large desert, and besides that to fight and conquer those that opposed them, they could not all of them have had buboes after the sixth day. For no such disease comes naturally and of necessity upon those that travel, and when many ten thousands are in a camp together, they constantly march a fixed distance every day. Nor is it at all probable that such a thing would happen

by chance: this idea is the most absurd of all. However, the admirable Apion had before told us, that they reached Judæa in six days, and again, "Moses went up to a mountain that lay between Egypt and Arabia, which was called Sinai, and was concealed there forty days, and when he came down from thence, he gave laws to the Jews." And yet how was it possible for them to tarry forty days in a desert place where there was no water, and at the same time to travel over all the country between Egypt and Judæa in six days? And as for the grammatical translation of the word Sabbath, it is either a proof of his great impudence or gross ignorance. For the words Sabbo and Sabbath are widely different from one another: for the word Sabbath in the Jewish language denotes rest from all sorts of work, whereas it is the word Sabbo, as he affirms, that denotes among the Egyptians the malady of bubo.

§ 3. Such is the novel account which the Egyptian Apion gives us concerning the Jews' departure from Egypt, he being more inventive than the others. But why should we wonder at the lies he tells about our forefathers, in affirming them to be of Egyptian origin, when he lies also about himself? For although he was born at Oasis[1] in Egypt, he pretends to be, as a man may say, superior to all the Egyptians, and forswears his real country and progenitors, and by falsely pretending to be born at Alexandria, admits the depravity of his race. Naturally therefore he calls those Egyptians whom he hates and wishes to abuse. For had he not deemed Egyptians very poor specimens of humanity, he would not have denied his real origin, for we know that those who brag of their own native countries, value themselves upon the name they acquire thereby, and reprove such as unjustly lay claim thereto. As for the Egyptians' claim to be of our kindred, they either make it because they value themselves upon it, or else they would draw us in to share in their own ill repute. But the excellent Apion seems to wish to bestow this reproach against us on the Alexandrians as a reward for the privilege they gave him of fellow-citizenship with them, and knowing the ill-will the Alexandrians bear to the Jews who dwell among them,

[1] The 'Great Oasis,' *el-Khargeh*, west of Abydos.

he proposed to himself to reproach them, although he must thereby include all the other Egyptians also, and in both cases he is no better than an impudent liar.

§ 4. But let us now see what those dreadful and shocking crimes are, which Apion charges upon the Jews dwelling at Alexandria. "They came (says he) out of Syria, and settled near a harbourless sea, and dwelt near the dashing of the waves." Now, if the place of habitation includes any thing that is reproachful, this man reproaches not his own real native country [Egypt], but what he states to be his own country, Alexandria. For all agree that the part of that city which is near the sea is the best of all to dwell in. Now, if the Jews gained that part of the city by force, and have kept it hitherto without being ejected, this is a proof of their valour. But Alexander himself gave them that part of the city for their habitation, and they obtained equal privileges with the Macedonians. I do not know what Apion would have said, had they dwelt at Necropolis,[1] and not been stationed near the royal palace, and if their nation had had the name of Macedonians given them to this very day. Now had he read the letters of king Alexander, or those of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, or met with the writings of the succeeding kings of Egypt, or seen the pillar still standing at Alexandria, and containing the privileges which the great Cæsar bestowed upon the Jews; had he, I say, known of these things, and yet had the impudence to write the opposite to them, he was a bad man: and if he knew nothing of these things, he was an ignorant man. And when he appears to wonder how Jews could be called Alexandrians, this is another similar instance of his ignorance. For all such as are invited to any colony, although they differ ever so much from one another in their nationality, take their names from those who invite them. But what need is there to speak of others, when those of us Jews that dwell at Antioch[2] are called Antiochians, because Seleucus the founder of that city gave them the rights of citizenship? In like manner do the Jews at Ephesus, and in the rest of

[1] That is, *city of the dead*, a name given to a suburb on the west side of Alexandria, v. Strab. 795, 799.

[2] Antioch on the Orontes in Syria.

Ionia, have the same name as the citizens that were natives there, by the grant of the successors of Alexander. And the liberality of the Romans has granted leave not only to men, but also to great and entire nations, to take the name of Romans. For instance, those anciently called Iberes[1] and Tyrrheni[2] and Sabini[3] are now called Romans. And if Apion reject this way of obtaining the privilege of citizenship, let him cease to call himself an Alexandrian. For how can he be an Alexandrian, who was born, as I said before, in the very heart of Egypt, if citizenship by grant, as he himself has alleged in our case, be denied? And yet the Romans, who are now the masters of the world, have forbidden the Egyptians alone to have the privileges of any citizenship. But he is so generous as to wish to obtain himself a privilege he is forbidden to make use of, yet endeavours by calumnies to deprive those of it that have justly received it. For Alexander did not settle some of our nation in Alexandria, because he wanted inhabitants for a city on whose founding he had bestowed so much pains, but it was given to our people as a reward, because he had, upon a careful trial, found them all men of virtue and fidelity. For, as Hecatæus says concerning us, Alexander honoured our nation to such a degree, that, for the good behaviour and fidelity which the Jews had exhibited to him, he permitted them to hold the country of Samaria free of tribute. Of the same mind also was Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, to those Jews who dwelt at Alexandria. For he put the fortresses of Egypt into their hands, believing they would hold them faithfully and valiantly for him, and when he wished to have a firm hold on the government of Cyrene[4] and the other cities of Libya, he sent a party of Jews to inhabit them. As for his successor Ptolemy, who was surnamed Philadelphus, he not only set all those of our nation free who were captives under him, but also frequently gave them money, and what was most important, he had a great desire to

[1] Apparently the Iberians of the south of France, in the Roman Province, are intended here, and not those of Spain.

[2] The people of Etruria.

[3] The Sabines.

[4] *Grenneh*, the chief town of the Libyan Pentapolis.

know our laws, and to read the books of our sacred scriptures. So he sent and desired that men might be sent him to interpret our law to him, and that he might have them well compiled, he committed that care to no ordinary persons, but ordained that Demetrius Phalereus and Andreas and Aristeas should take care of the matter (Demetrius being the most learned person of his age, and the others being intrusted with the guard of his body); nor would he certainly have been so desirous of learning our laws and the philosophy of our nation, had he despised, and not held in high admiration, the men that used them.

§ 5. Now this Apion was almost unacquainted with all the kings of those Macedonians whom he pretends to have been his progenitors; who were very well affected towards us. For the third Ptolemy, who was called Euergetes, when he had got possession of all Syria by force, did not offer his thank-offerings for victory to the Egyptian gods, but went to Jerusalem, and offered many sacrifices to God according to our laws, and dedicated to him such gifts as were worthy of such a victory. And as for Ptolemy Philometor and his wife Cleopatra, they committed their whole kingdom to the Jews, and Onias and Dositheus, both Jews, were the generals of their whole army; whose names are laughed at by Apion, when, instead of abusing them, he ought to have admired their actions, and returned them thanks for saving Alexandria, whose citizen he pretends to to be. For when the Alexandrians were warring against queen Cleopatra, and were in danger of perishing miserably, these Jews negotiated terms of agreement, and freed them from the miseries of civil war. "But afterwards (says Apion) Onias led a small army against the city, when Thermus the Roman ambassador was present there." And, I venture to say, acting rightly and very justly. For Ptolemy, who was surnamed Physcon, came from Cyrene upon the death of his brother Philometor, and would have ejected Cleopatra, as well as her sons, out of their kingdom, that he might obtain it for himself unjustly; and that was why Onias undertook a war against him on Cleopatra's behalf, nor would he desert the trust the royal family had placed on him in their distress. And God bore remarkable witness to his righteous behaviour. For when

Ptolemy Physcon had the presumption to fight against Onias' army, and had arrested all the Jews that were in the city with their children and wives, and exposed them naked and bound to his elephants, that they might be trodden to death by them, and had made those elephants drunk for that purpose, the event proved contrary to his plans. For these elephants left the Jews who were exposed to them, and fell violently upon Physcon's friends, and slew a great number of them. And after this Ptolemy saw a terrible apparition, which prohibited his hurting those men: and his favourite concubine, whom some call Ithaca, and others Irene, making supplication to him, that he would not perpetrate so great a wickedness, he complied with her request, and repented of what he had either already done, or was about to do. In consequence of this it is well known that the Jews settled at Alexandria do with good reason celebrate this day, because they had thereon been vouchsafed such an evident deliverance from God. However Apion, the calumniator of all men, has the presumption to accuse the Jews for making this war against Physcon, when he ought to have commended them for the same. He also mentions Cleopatra, the last queen of Alexandria, and as it were abuses us, because she was ungracious to us; whereas he ought to have reproved her, seeing that she indulged herself in all kinds of injustice and wicked practices, both with regard to her nearest relations, and also her husbands who loved her, and indeed in general with regard to all the Romans, and those emperors that were her benefactors; and also had her sister Arsinoe slain in a temple, when she had done her no harm; and also had her brother slain by treachery, and robbed the gods of her country and the sepulchres of her progenitors.[1] And though she had received her kingdom from the first Cæsar, she had the impudence to rebel against his son[2] and successor: nay, she corrupted Antony with her love tricks, and caused him to be an enemy to his country, and made him unfaithful to his friends, stripping some of their royal rank, and forcing others in her madness to act wickedly. But why need I enlarge upon this any

[1] Compare Antiq. xv. 4, § 1.

[2] Sister's son, and adopted son, namely, Augustus.—W.

further, when she left Antony in his sea-fight, though he was her husband, and the father of their common children, and compelled him to resign his position with the army as commander in chief, and to follow her? And when last of all Augustus had taken Alexandria, she came to that pitch of cruelty, that she declared she had some hope of preserving her affairs still, if she could kill the Jews with her own hand; to such a degree of cruelty and perfidiousness did she arrive! And do you think that we cannot boast ourselves of any thing, if, as Apion says, this queen did not in time of famine distribute wheat amongst us? However, she at length met with the punishment she deserved. As for us Jews, we appeal to the greatest Cæsar to bear witness to the assistance we brought him and the fidelity we showed him against the Egyptians; we appeal also to the senate and its decrees, and the letters of Augustus Cæsar, wherein our merits are acknowledged. Apion ought to have inspected these letters, and in particular to have examined the testimonies given on our behalf under Alexander and all the Ptolemies, and the decrees of the senate, and of the greatest Roman emperors. And if Germanicus was not able to make a distribution of corn to all the inhabitants of Alexandria, that only shows what a barren time it was, and how great a want there was then of corn, and is no accusation of the Jews; for what all the emperors have thought of the Jews living at Alexandria is well known; for this distribution of wheat was no otherwise omitted with regard to the Jews, than it was with regard to the other inhabitants of Alexandria. And they were desirous to keep the most important trust that the Ptolemies had formerly committed to their care, I mean the entire charge of the river, by no means thinking themselves unworthy of this charge.

§ 6. But besides this, Apion objects, "If the Jews are citizens of Alexandria, why do they not worship the same gods as the Alexandrians do?" To which I answer: Since you are yourselves Egyptians, why do you also have implacable wars with one another about religion? At this rate we must not call you all Egyptians, nor indeed in general men, because you breed up with great care beasts of a nature quite contrary to that of men, since the nature

of all men seems to be one and the same. Now, if there are such differences in opinion among you Egyptians, why are you surprised that those who came to Alexandria from another country, and had original laws of their own, persevered in the observance of those laws? But Apion further charges us with being the authors of sedition: which accusation, if it be a true one against the Jews settled in Alexandria, why is it not brought against us all, since we are known to be all of one mind? Moreover, any one will soon discover, that the authors of sedition have been such citizens of Alexandria as Apion is. For while Greeks and Macedonians were in possession of that city, they raised no sedition against us, but permitted us to observe our ancient worship. But when the number of the Egyptians came to be considerable because of the confusions of the times, these seditions were always breaking out, though our people continued uncorrupted. They themselves, therefore, were the authors of these troubles, having by no means the constancy of Macedonians, nor the prudence of Greeks, but truly indulging all of them the evil manners of Egyptians, and exercising their ancient hatred against us. For what is here so presumptuously charged upon us, is owing to the difference between us and them. For as most of them do not easily obtain the privileges of citizens, they call[1] those foreigners who are well known to have had that privilege extended to them all. For it does not appear that any of the Ptolemies formerly bestowed the privileges of citizenship upon Egyptians, nor do any of the Roman emperors now; whereas Alexander introduced us into the city, and the Ptolemies augmented our privileges therein, and the Romans have been pleased to preserve them always inviolable. Moreover, Apion would defame us, because we do not put up images of our emperors, as if these emperors did not know this before, or stood in need of Apion as their defender; whereas he ought rather to have admired the magnanimity and moderation of the Romans, since they do not compel those who are subject to them to transgress the laws of their own countries, but receive the honours due to them as it is pious and lawful for those who offer

[1] I read *vocant* for *vocantes*. The latter reading got in the text no doubt from the *eos* following.

them to pay them. For they do not thank people for conferring honours upon them, when they are compelled by violence so to do. Moreover, the Greeks and some other nations think it a right thing to make images. Nay, when they have painted the pictures of their parents and wives and children, they dance for joy, and some have pictures of persons who are no way related to them: some even have the pictures of slaves whom they are fond of. What wonder is it, then, if such appear willing to pay the same respect to their princes and lords? But our legislator forbade us to make images, not telling us as it were beforehand that the Roman authority was not to be honoured, but as it were despising a thing that was useful neither to God nor man; and he forbade them, as I shall show hereafter, to make images of any part of the animal creation, and much less of God himself, who is inanimate. However, our legislator has nowhere forbidden us to pay honours to worthy men, provided they are of another kind, and inferior to those we pay to God, and with such honours we willingly show our respect to our emperors and to the people of Rome. We also offer continual sacrifices for them: and not only do we offer these every day at the common expense of all the Jews, but also, although we offer no other such sacrifices at the common expense, even for our own children, we do this as a peculiar honour to the emperors, and to them alone, while we do the same to no other person whatever. Let this suffice for an answer in general to Apion, as to what he says with relation to Alexandria.

§ 7. However, I wonder at those who furnished this man with his materials, I mean Posidonius and Appollonius Molo; since they accuse us for not worshipping the same gods whom others worship; but they do not think themselves guilty of impiety when they tell lies of us, and make up absurd blasphemies about our temple: though it is a most shameful thing for freemen to tell lies on any occasion, and much more so about a temple famous all over the world, and awful for its sanctity. For Apion has the impudence to declare that the Jews placed an ass's head in their holy place, and worshipped it, and made it worthy of so great religion, and he affirms that it was discovered when Antiochus Epiphanes spoiled our temple, and found the

ass's head there made of gold, and worth a great deal of money. To this I first answer that, had there been any such thing among us, an Egyptian ought by no means to have thrown it in our teeth, since an ass is not a more contemptible animal than ***[1] and goats, and other creatures, which among them are gods. In the next place, how came Apion not to know that this is no other than a palpable lie, and proved by facts to be utterly incredible? For we Jews are always governed by the same laws, to which we are always consistent. And although various misfortunes have befallen our city, as have also befallen the cities of others, and although Antiochus called God,[2] and Pompey the Great, and Licinius Crassus, and last of all Titus Cæsar, have conquered us in war, and got possession of our temple, yet they found no such thing there, nor indeed anything but what was agreeable to the strictest piety, though what they found we are not at liberty to reveal to other nations. As for Antiochus, he had no just cause for spoiling our temple, but only came to it when he wanted money, without declaring himself our enemy, and moreover attacked us when we were his associates and friends, nor did he find any thing there worthy of derision. This is attested by many worthy writers, as Polybius of Megalapolis, Strabo of Cappadocia, Nicolaus of Damascus, Timagenes, Castor the annalist, and Apollodorus;[3] who all say that it was out of Antiochus' want of money, that he broke his league with the Jews, and spoiled their temple when it was full of gold and silver. Apion ought to have had a regard to these facts, unless he himself rather had an ass's heart and a dog's impudence, for the dog is wont to be worshipped among the Egyptians,[4] and he had no other external reason

[1] Furonibus in the Latin, but what animal it denotes does not now appear.—W. Furonibus means ferrets or weasels according to J. G. Muller. But qu. *serpentibus*, or *canibus*?

[2] See Antiq. xii. 3, § 2.

[3] It is a great pity that these six Pagan authors, here mentioned to have described the famous profanation of the Jewish temple by Antiochus, should be all lost; I mean so much of their writings as contained that description; for it is plain Josephus perused them all, and that they were therefore extant in his time.—W.

[4] Muller refers to Plutarch, *Isis*, § 72, Juvenal, xv. 8, and Ælian, H. A. xi. 27.

for this lie he tells. As for us Jews, we ascribe no honour or power to asses, as the Egyptians do to crocodiles and asps, since they esteem such as are carried off by the former, or bitten by the latter, to be happy persons, and persons worthy of God. Asses are with us as with other wise men, viz., creatures that bear the burdens that we lay upon them; but if they come to our threshing-floors and eat our corn, or do not perform what we impose upon them, they receive a great many stripes, because it is their business to minister to us in other work and in things necessary in husbandry. But either Apion was most unskilful in the composition of falsehoods, or at least, when he began, he was not able to persevere in what he had undertaken, since he has no success in the reproaches he casts upon us.

§ 8. But he adds another fable from the Greeks, full of detraction of us; as to which, it will be enough to say, that they who presume to speak about divine worship, ought not to be ignorant that it is less impure to pass through temples, than to concoct wicked calumnies about priests. But such men as he are more zealous to defend a sacrilegious king, than to write what is just and true about us and our temple. For wishing to gratify Antiochus, and to conceal the perfidiousness and sacrilege, with regard to our nation, which he was guilty of when he wanted money, they endeavour to detract from us even in regard to the future, and have told lies. Apion becomes indeed the spokesman of others, and says, "That Antiochus found in our temple a couch and a man lying upon it, with a small table placed before him full of dainties of earth and sea and air, and that he was amazed at the sight. And this man immediately prostrated himself before the king upon his coming in, hoping he would afford him all possible assistance, and fell down upon his knees, and stretched out to him his right hand, and begged to be released. And when the king bade him sit down, and tell him who he was, and why he dwelt there, and what was the meaning of those various sorts of food that were set before him, the man made a lamentable complaint, and with sighs and tears gave him the following account of the distress he was in. He said that he was a Greek, and that, as he was travelling over the province to get his living, he was on a

sudden seized upon by foreigners, and brought to the temple, and shut up therein, and was seen by nobody, but was being fattened up by these various provisions thus set before him. And truly at first such unexpected comforts excited in him joy, but after a while suspicion, and after that astonishment; and at last he inquired of the servants who attended upon him, and was informed by them that he was thus fed in order to fulfil a law of the Jews which they must not tell him, and that they did the same at a certain time every year. For they would get hold of some Greek foreigner, and fat him up thus every year, and then lead him to a certain wood and kill him, and offer up his body as a sacrifice with their accustomed rites, and taste of his entrails, and take an oath upon thus sacrificing a Greek, that they would ever be at enmity with the Greeks; and they would then throw what remained of the miserable wretch into a certain pit." Apion adds further, "that the man said he was to be killed in a few day now, and he implored Antiochus to respect the Greek gods, and to disappoint the snares the Jews laid for his blood, and to deliver him from the miseries with which he was surrounded." Now a tale of this kind is not only most full of all tragedy, but also abounds in cruel impudence. It does not however clear Antiochus of sacrilege, as those who wrote it to please him imagined. For he could not presume beforehand that he should meet with any such thing in coming to the temple, but must have found it unexpectedly. He was therefore still impious for his wicked desires, and just as much without regard to God, whatever he was bade to do by this superfluous lie, for lie it is, as is most easy to see from the circumstance itself. For the difference of our laws is known not to regard the Greeks only, but quite as much or even more the Egyptians and many other people also. For from what part of the world do not men sometimes come and sojourn among us, that we should conspire only against the Greeks, and endeavour to shed only their blood! Or how is it possible that all the Jews should assemble together at these sacrifices, and that the entrails of one man should be sufficient for so many thousands to taste of them, as Apion alleges? Or why did not the king carry this man, whoever he was, and whatever his name was

(which is not set down in Apion's book), with great pomp back into his own country? For, had he done so, he might have been esteemed a religious person himself, and a mighty lover of the Greeks, and might thereby have procured himself great assistance from all men against the hatred of the Jews. But I leave this matter: for the proper way of confuting fools, is not to use words, but to appeal to facts. All then who have seen the construction of our temple, know well enough its nature, and that the purity of it was never to be profaned. For it had four courts round about it, each one of which was by our law separated from the rest. Into the first court every body was allowed to go, even foreigners, none but menstruous women being prohibited to enter it; into the second court went all the Jews, as also their wives when they were free from any uncleanness; into the third went in the Jewish men when they were clean and purified; into the fourth went the priests, having on their sacerdotal garments: but none went into the most sacred place but the high priests, clothed in their peculiar robes. Now there is such care exercised in our religion, that the priests can only go into the temple at certain hours. For in the morning, at the opening of the temple, those that are to officiate enter and receive the victims: and again at noon, till the temple is shut. Furthermore it is not lawful to carry any vessel into the holy house, nor is there any thing placed therein, but the altar (of incense), the table (of show-bread), the censer, and the candlestick, all which things are written in the law. For there is nothing more there, nor are there any mysteries performed that may not be spoken of, nor is there any feasting within the temple. What I have now said is publicly known, and supported by the testimony of our whole nation, and the method of their operations. For although there are four courses of priests, and each of these courses have more than five thousand men in them, yet they officiate on certain days only; and when those days are over, other priests succeed to the performance of the sacrifices, and assemble together in the temple at mid-day, and receive the keys of the temple, and all the vessels by tale, from their predecessors, without any food or drink being carried into the temple. Nay, we are not allowed to offer such

things at the altar, except what is prepared for the sacrifices.

§ 9. What then can we say of Apion, but that he examined none of these things, while he uttered incredible words about them? But it is a great shame for a critic not to be able to write true history. And if he knew the purity of our temple, he has entirely omitted to mention it; while he has concocted a story about the seizing of a Greek, about unspeakable food, and the most delicious preparation of dainties; and pretends that strangers could go into a place, where the noblest men among the Jews are not allowed to enter, unless they be priests. This, therefore, is the utmost degree of impiety, and a voluntary lie, to delude those who will not examine into the truth. By such unspeakable calumnies as are above related, they have tried to detract from us.

§ 10. Nay, this miracle of piety derides us further, and adds the following idle tale to his former one. For he says that Antiochus related that, "while the Jews had once a long war with the Idumæans, there came a man out of one of the cities of the Idumæans, who had worshipped Apollo there. This man, whose name is said to have been Zabidus, went to the Jews, and promised that he would deliver Apollo, the god of the people of Dora, into their hands, and that he would come to our temple, if they would all come up with him, and bring the whole multitude of the Jews with them. Then Zabidus made a certain wooden instrument, and put it round him, and set three rows of lamps thereon, and walked in such a manner that he appeared to those that stood a great way off a kind of star walking upon the earth. And the Jews were terribly frightened at so surprising a sight, and stood very quiet at some distance; and Zabidus, while they continued so very quiet, went into the holy house, and carried off the golden head of an ass; (so facetiously does he write,) and then went his way back again to Dora in great haste." We might say then that Apion loads the ass, that is himself, and lays on him a burden of fooleries and lies. For he writes of places that do not exist, and not knowing the cities he speaks of, he changes their situation. For Idumæa borders upon our country, and is near Gaza, and there is

no such city as Dora in it; there is, indeed, a city called Dora[1] in Phœnice, near Mount Carmel, but that is four days' journey from Idumæa. And why, again, does this man accuse us, as not having gods in common with other nations, if our forefathers so easily believed that Apollo would come to them, and thought they saw him walking upon the earth, and the stars with him? For certainly those who have so many festivals, wherein they light lamps, must at this rate have never seen a lamp! It seems also that when Zabidus took his journey over the country, where there were so many myriads of people, nobody met him. He also, it seems, even in time of war, found the walls of Jerusalem destitute of guards. I omit all the rest; but the doors of the holy house were seventy cubits high, and twenty cubits broad, and they were all plated over with gold, and almost of solid gold, and there were no fewer than twenty men required to shut them every day, nor was it lawful ever to leave them open. But it seems this lamp-bearer of ours opened them easily, or thought he opened them, as he thought he carried off the ass's head! But whether he returned it to us again, or whether Apion took it and returned it to the temple again, that Antiochus might find it, and give Apion a second tale, is uncertain.

§ 11. Apion also lies as to an oath of ours, that we swear by God, the maker of the heaven and earth and sea, to bear no good-will to any foreigner, and especially to none of the Greeks. But he ought to have said falsely at once, that we swear to bear no good-will to any foreigner, and especially to none of the Egyptians. For so his story about the oath would have tallied with the rest of his former fictions, if indeed our forefathers were driven away by their kinsmen the Egyptians, not on account of any wickedness, but on account of their calamities. As to the Greeks, we are rather remote from them in place than different from them in institutions, so that we have no enmity with them, nor any jealousy of them. On the contrary, it has so happened, that many of them have come over to our laws, and some have continued in their observance, though others

[1] *Tantûrah.*

had not courage enough to persevere, and seceded from them again. Nor did anybody ever hear this oath sworn by us: Apion, it seems, was the only person that heard of it, indeed he concocted it himself.

§ 12. However, Apion deserves to be admired for his great understanding in what I am going to speak of next. He says it is a plain proof that we neither have just laws, nor worship God as we ought to do, because we are not independent, but are rather in subjection to Gentiles, sometimes to one nation, sometimes to another, and because our city has suffered from several calamities, while their city was from of old an independent city, and not accustomed to be in subjection to the Romans. And yet it would be wiser in any one to abstain from such boasting. For everybody but himself would think, that Apion says what he has said against himself. For few nations have had the good fortune to continue many generations in independence, and the mutations in human affairs have put these also in subjection to others; and most nations have often had to obey others. But the Egyptians pretend that they alone had this extraordinary privilege, to serve none of the monarchs who subdued Asia and Europe, because the gods fled into their country, and saved themselves by changing themselves into the forms of wild beasts; whereas in point of fact these very Egyptians [1] appear to have never in all past time had one day of freedom, not even with their own lords. I will not reproach them with relating how the Persians used them, not once only, but many times, laying their cities waste, and demolishing their temples, and cutting the throats of those animals whom they esteemed gods; for it is not right to imitate the clownish ignorance of Apion, who has no regard to the misfortunes of the Athenians or of the Lacedæmonians, the latter of whom are affirmed by all men to have been the most

[1] This notorious disgrace belonging peculiarly to the people of Egypt, ever since the times of the old prophets of the Jews noted, both § 4, already, and here, may be confirmed by the testimony of Isodorus, an Egyptian of Pelusium, epist. lib. i. cap. 489. And this is a remarkable completion of the ancient prediction of God, by Ezekiel, xxix. 14, 15, "That the Egyptians should be a base kingdom, the basest of the kingdoms," and that it "should not exalt itself any more above the nations."—W.

courageous, and the former the most religious, of the Greeks. I say nothing of such kings as have been famous for piety, as one of them whose name was Crœsus, nor what calamities he met with in his life: I say nothing of the Acropolis of Athens, of the temples at Ephesus and Delphi, nor of ten thousand others which have been burnt down, and nobody cast reproaches on those who were the sufferers, but only on those who were the actors therein. But now we have met with a new accuser of our nation in Apion, who quite forgets the miseries of his own people the Egyptians. Sesostris, the legendary king of Egypt, has blinded him. However, we will not brag of our kings, David and Solomon, though they conquered many nations: we will not speak of them. But Apion is ignorant of what everybody knows, that the Egyptians were servants to the Persians, and afterwards to the Macedonians, when they were lords of Asia, and were no better than slaves, while we enjoyed liberty, and moreover, had the dominion of the cities round about us, for about a hundred and twenty years, till Pompey the Great. And when all nations were conquered by the Romans, who are kings everywhere, our ancestors were the only people who continued to be esteemed their allies and friends because of their fidelity.

§ 13. But, says Apion, "We Jews have not had any wonderful men amongst us, as inventors of arts, nor any eminent for wisdom." He then enumerates Socrates, and Zeno, and Cleanthes, and some others of the same sort; and then he adds himself to them, which is the richest thing of all that he says, and pronounces Alexandria to be happy, because it has such a citizen as him. For he had to bear witness to himself. For he appeared to all others no better than a wicked mountebank, corrupt both in his life and conversation, so that one may with reason pity Alexandria, if it is proud of such a citizen as he is. But as to our own men, such as have perused our Antiquities cannot be ignorant that many are as deserving of commendation as any people.

§ 14. As to the other things which he sets down in his accusation, it may perhaps be the best way to let them pass without apology, that he may be his own accuser, and the accuser of the rest of the Egyptians. For he accuses us of

sacrificing animals, and of abstaining from eating swine's flesh, and laughs at us for practising circumcision. Now as for the slaughter of tame animals, it is common to us and to all other men, and Apion, by making it a crime to sacrifice them, demonstrates himself to be an Egyptian; for a Greek or Macedonian would have had no objection to such a thing; for those people vow to sacrifice whole Hecatombs to the gods, and make use of the victims for feasting; and the world is not thereby rendered destitute of cattle, as Apion feared it would be. However, if all men had followed the manners of the Egyptians, the world would certainly have been bereft of human beings, but filled full of the wildest beasts, which, because they suppose them to be gods, they carefully nourish. Now if any one should ask Apion, which of all the Egyptians he thinks to be the most wise and most pious, he would certainly acknowledge the priests to be so. For they say that two things were originally committed to their care by their kings' injunctions, the worship of the gods and the pursuit of wisdom. And their priests are all circumcised, and abstain from eating swine's flesh. Nor do any of the other Egyptians assist them in sacrificing to the gods. Apion was therefore quite blinded in his mind, when, for the sake of the Egyptians, he devised reproaching us, whereas he really accuses them, seeing that they not only adopt those habits which he so much abuses, but have also taught other men to practise circumcision, as Herodotus says.[1] And I think Apion was justly punished for his casting such reproaches on the laws of his own country; for he was circumcised himself of necessity, on account of an ulcer on his person, which, as he received no benefit from that circumcision, rotted away, and he died in great torments. For well-intentioned people ought to observe carefully their own laws concerning religion, and not to abuse the laws of other nations, whereas this Apion did not observe his own laws, and told lies about ours. Such was the end of Apion's life, and let this be our last reference to him.

§ 15. Now as Apollonius Molo, and Lysimachus, and some others, partly out of ignorance, but chiefly out of ill-will,

[1] Herodotus, ii. 104.

have written treatises about our lawgiver Moses, and about our laws, which are neither fair nor true, calumniating Moses as an impostor and deceiver, and asserting that our laws teach us wickedness and not virtue, I intend to state briefly, to the best of my ability, the whole constitution of our polity and its details. For I think it will then be plain that the laws we have are most excellently adapted for the advancement of piety, and for the interests of society, and for general philanthropy, as also for justice, and for sustaining labours with fortitude, and for contempt of death. And I beg of those who shall peruse this work of mine, to read it without ill-will. For it is not my purpose to write an encomium upon ourselves, but I esteem it the most just defence for us, against the many and lying accusations that have been made against us, to cite those laws, according to which we lead our lives; especially as Apollonius does not, like Apion, lay a continuous accusation against us, but accuses us only by fits and starts, and here and there throughout his treatise. Sometimes he reproaches us as atheists and misanthropes, and sometimes twits us with our want of courage, and yet sometimes, on the contrary, accuses us of too great boldness and recklessness. He also says that we are the stupidest of all barbarians, and that this is why we are the only people who have contributed no invention to life. All this I think I shall have sufficiently disproved, when it shall appear that our laws enjoin the very reverse of what he says, and that we very carefully observe those laws. And should I be compelled to mention the laws of other nations that are contrary to ours, they who have thought good to depreciate our laws in comparison with their own must thank themselves for this. Nor will there, I think, be any opportunity left them to say, either that we have not these laws, the chief of which I shall present to the reader, or that we do not, above all men, continue in the observance of them.

§ 16. To begin then a little back, I would say this first, that those who were lovers of order and common laws, and who first introduced them, when men were living without law and order, may well have this testimony, that they were better than other men in mildness and natural virtue. And certainly such persons endeavour to have every

thing they introduce believed to be very ancient, that they may not be thought to imitate others, but may rather seem themselves to have suggested a regular way of living to others. Since, then, this is the case, the excellency of a legislator is seen in seeing what is best, and in persuading those who are to use the laws he ordains to have a good opinion of them, and the excellency of a people is seen in their abiding by the laws, and making no changes in them either in prosperity or adversity. Now I say that our legislator is the most ancient of all the legislators who are anywhere recorded. For Lycurgus and Solon, and Zaleucus the legislator of the Locrians, and all those legislators who are admired by the Greeks, seem to be of yesterday if compared with our legislator, indeed the very name of law was not so much as known in old times among the Greeks. Homer bears me out in this, for he never uses the word law in all his poems;[1] for indeed there was in his time no such thing, but the multitude was governed by undefined opinions and by the orders of their kings. They continued also a long time after Homer in the use of these unwritten customs, although they frequently changed them to suit a particular emergency. But our legislator, who was of so much greater antiquity than the rest (as even those who speak against us upon all occasions admit), exhibited himself to the people as their best guide and counsellor, and included in his legislation the whole conduct of life, and persuaded them to receive it, and brought it to pass that those who were acquainted with his laws did most carefully observe them.

§ 17. Now let us consider his first and greatest work. When it was resolved on by our forefathers to leave Egypt, and to return to their own country, he took the many myriads of the people, and safely rescued them out of many difficulties. For it was necessary for them to travel over a waterless and sandy desert, and to overcome their enemies, and during their battles to preserve their children and wives and spoil; on all which occasions he showed himself a most excellent general, and a most sagacious counsellor, and one that took the truest care of them all. He

[1] Hesiod is the first who uses the word νόμος.

also so brought it about, that the whole multitude depended upon him, and while he made them always obedient to what he enjoined, he never used his authority for his own private advantage. And at the time when eminent men do most gain great power for themselves, and pave the way for tyranny, and accustom the people to live very lawlessly, our legislator, on the contrary, though he had such great authority, thought he ought to have regard to piety, and to show his great good-will to the people; for so he thought he might best show his own virtue, and might secure the most lasting prosperity to those who had made him their leader. As therefore his intentions were so good, and he had performed such wonderful exploits, we justly looked upon ourselves as having a divine leader and counsellor. And when he had first persuaded himself that his actions and designs were agreeable to God's will, he thought it his duty to impress that notion above all things upon the multitude: for those who believe that God surveys their lives cannot bear the thought of sin. Such then was the character of our legislator, who was no impostor, or deceiver, as his revilers say unjustly, but such a one as they boast Minos to have been among the Greeks, and other legislators after him. For some of them maintained that they had their laws from God, and Minos referred the oracular origin of his laws to Apollo and his oracle at Delphi, whether they thought they were really so derived, or that they could so more easily persuade the people to obey them. And as to who made the best laws, and who had the justest ideas as to faith in God, it is easy to determine this by comparing the laws themselves together, for it is time that we come to that point. Now there are innumerable differences in detail in the customs and laws that obtain among all mankind; for some legislators have permitted their governments to be monarchies, others oligarchies, and others democracies. But our legislator had no regard to any of these things, but ordained our government to be what, by a strained expression, may be termed a Theocracy, ascribing the sovereignty and authority to God, and persuading all the people to look to him as the author of all good things that were enjoyed either in common by all mankind, or by each individual privately, and of all that they

themselves obtained by praying to him in their greatest straits. He informed them also that it was impossible to escape God's observation, either in any of their outward actions, or in any of their inward thoughts. Moreover, he represented God as unbegotten, and immutable through all eternity, surpassing all mortal conception in beauty, and though known to us by his power, yet unknown to us as to his essence. I do not now say that the wisest of the Greeks were taught these notions of God by principles that Moses supplied them with; but they have borne emphatic witness that these notions are good and agreeable to the nature and majesty of God. For Pythagoras, and Anaxagoras, and Plato, and the Stoic Philosophers that succeeded them, and almost all other philosophers, seem to have had the same notions about the nature of God. But these men durst not disclose those true notions to more than a few, because the body of the people were prepossessed by other opinions, while our legislator, who made his actions square with his laws, not only prevailed upon his contemporaries to agree to his notions, but so firmly imprinted this faith in God upon all their posterity, that it could never be removed. And the reason why our lawgiver in his legislation far exceeded all other legislators in utility to all, is that he did not make religion a part of virtue, but had the insight to make the various virtues parts of religion; I mean justice, and fortitude, and self-control, and the mutual harmony in all things of the members of the community with one another. For all our actions and studies and words have a connection with piety towards God; for he has left none of these things indefinite or undetermined. For there are two ways of arriving at any discipline or moral conduct of life; the one is by instruction in words, the other by exercises in practice. Now all other lawgivers separated these two ways in their codes, and choosing the one of those methods which best pleased them, neglected the other. Thus did the Lacedæmonians and the Cretans teach by exercises in practice, and not by words; while the Athenians and almost all the other Greeks made laws about what was to be done or left undone, but neglected exercising people thereto in practice.

§ 18. But our legislator very carefully joined these two methods of instruction together: for he neither left these

exercises in practice to go on without verbal instruction, nor did he permit the hearing of the law to proceed without exercises in practice; but beginning immediately with the earliest infancy, and the appointment of every one's diet, he left nothing of the very smallest consequence to be done at the pleasure and caprice of the persons themselves; but made fixed rules and laws what sorts of food they should abstain from, and what sorts they should make use of, as also what intercourse they should have with others; what diligence they should use in their occupations, and what times of rest should be interposed; that, by living under those laws as under a father and a master, we might be guilty of no sin either from wilfulness or ignorance. For he did not suffer the pretext of ignorance to be valid, but showed the law to be the best and most necessary of instructions, for he bade the people leave off all their other employments, and assemble together to hear the law, and to be perfectly instructed in it, not once or twice or often, but every week; a thing which all other legislators seem to have neglected.

§ 19. Indeed most of mankind are so far from living according to their own laws, that they hardly know them, but when they have sinned, then they learn from others that they have transgressed the law. Even those who are in the highest and most important offices confess they are not acquainted with their laws, and are obliged to take such persons as profess to have skill in those laws for their assessors in the administration of public affairs. But if any body do but ask any one of our people about our laws, he could more easily tell them all than he could tell his own name. For because of our having learned them as soon as ever we became sensible of any thing, we have them as it were engraven on our souls. And our transgressors of them are but few, and it is impossible, when any do offend, to escape punishment by entreaty for pardon.

§ 20. And it is this very thing that principally creates such wonderful oneness of mind amongst us all. For our having one and the same opinion about God, and our having no difference from one another in our course of life and manners, brings about among us the most excellent accord in manners that is anywhere among mankind. For among us alone

will no one hear any discourses about God that contradict one another, which are yet frequent among other nations (and this is true not only among ordinary persons, according as every one is personally disposed, but some of the philosophers also have been bold enough to indulge in such speculations, some of them having attempted to take away all the nature of God, as others of them have taken away his providence over mankind), nor will any one perceive amongst us any difference in the conduct of our lives, but the works of all among us are common, and we have one doctrine about God, which chimes in with our law, and affirms that he surveys all things. And as to the conduct of our lives, that we consider that all things ought to have piety for their end, any body may hear from our women and servants.

§ 21. Hence indeed has arisen the accusation which some bring against us, that we have produced no men that have been inventors of new deeds or words. For all other nations think it a fine thing to stick to nothing that has been handed down from their forefathers, and testify to the clever wisdom of men who are bold enough to ignore their traditions; whereas we, on the contrary, suppose it to be our only wisdom and virtue neither to act nor think contrary to our original laws. Now this is a reasonable proof that our legislation is admirable; for laws which are not thus well made are proved upon trial to want amendment.

§ 22. And as we are ourselves persuaded that our law was made agreeably to the will of God, it would be impious for us not to observe the same. For what is there in it that any body would change, or what could one invent better, or what could one borrow from other people's laws more excellent? Would any have the entire frame-work of our polity altered? And what could be a better or more righteous constitution than ours, which makes us esteem God the governor of the universe, and commits to the priests generally the administration of the principal affairs, and again intrusts the rule over the other priests to the high priest who is supreme over everything? Nor did our legislator, at their first appointment, advance these priests to that dignity for their riches, or for any other fortuitous advantages, but he intrusted the management of divine

worship mainly to those who exceeded others in powers of persuasion and in self-control. These men had the strict care of the law, and had the rest of the people's conduct committed to them: for the priests were ordained to be overseers of everything, and to be judges in doubtful cases, and to be the punishers of those who were condemned to suffer punishment.

§ 23. What form of government then can be more holy than this? what more worthy worship can be paid to God than we pay, where the entire body of the people are prepared for religion, where an extraordinary degree of care is required in the priests, and where the whole polity is so ordered as if it were a sort of religious solemnity? For what foreigners, when they solemnize such festivals, and call them mysteries and initiations, are not able to observe even for a few days, we observe with much pleasure and unshaken resolution during our whole lives. What are the things then that we are commanded or forbidden? They are simple and well known. The first command is concerning God, and affirms that God is almighty and perfect and happy, self-sufficing and sufficient for all other beings, the beginning, the middle, and the end of all things. He is manifest in his works and benefits, and more conspicuous than any other being whatever; but as to his form and size he is most obscure. All materials, let them be ever so costly, are unworthy to compose an image of him, and all arts are inartistic to express the notion of him. We cannot see any thing like him, nor is it agreeable to piety to conjecture about him. We see his works, the light, the heaven, the earth, the sun and moon, the waters, the generations of animals, and the growth of fruits. God did not make these things with hands nor with labour, nor did he need the assistance of any to co-operate with him: but as his will resolved they should be made and be good also, they were made and became good immediately. All men ought to follow and worship him in the exercise of virtue; for this way of worship of God is the most holy.

§ 24. There is also but one temple for one God (for likeness is the constant foundation of agreement[1]), common to

[1] Müller compares Aristotle, Ethics, ix. 3, 3; viii. 1, 6.

all men, because God is common to all men. His priests are continually about his worship, over whom he that is head of the family presides. His business is to offer sacrifices to God with his fellow-priests, to see that the laws are observed, to determine controversies, and to punish those who are convicted of wrong-doing. And he that does not submit to him is subject to the same punishment as if he had been guily of impiety towards God himself. When we offer sacrifices to him, we do not do so to surfeit ourselves or to be drunk (for such excesses are against the will of God, and the sacrifices would then be an excuse for riot and luxury), but by keeping ourselves sober, orderly, and ready for our other occupations, and being more temperate[1] than others. And at the sacrifices themselves, we ought first to pray for the common welfare of all, and after that for our own (for we are made for fellowship with one another), and he who prefers the common good to his own private good is especially acceptable to God. And let our prayers and supplications be made to God, not so much that he would give us what is good, (for he has already given that of his own accord, and distributed it alike to all,) as that we may duly receive it, and when we have received it keep it. The law has also appointed several purifications at our sacrifices, whereby we are cleansed after a funeral, after any nocturnal pollution, and after connection with our wives, and after several other things which it would be too long now to set down. Such is our rationale concerning God and his worship, and the law is also the same.

§ 25. What, again, are our laws about marriages? The law recognizes no connection of the sexes but the natural connection between a man and his wife, and that only for the procreation of children; and it abhors sodomy, and death is the punishment for that crime. The law commands us also, when we marry, not to have regard to dowry, nor to take a woman by violence, nor to persuade her by deceit and guile, but to demand her in marriage of him who has power to dispose of her, and is fit[2] to give her away because of his nearness of kin. For the legislator says that a

[1] Reading σωφρονῶμεν with Bekker and Müller.
[2] I read ἐπιτηδειότατον.

woman is inferior to her husband in all things. Let her, therefore, be obedient to him; not that he should ill-treat her, but that she may acknowledge her position to be a subordinate one, for God has given the authority to the husband. A husband is to lie only with his wife, and to seduce another man's wife is a wicked thing, which, if any one ventures upon, death is inevitably his punishment, as it is also his who forces a virgin betrothed to another man. The law, moreover, enjoins us to bring up all our offspring, and forbids women to cause abortion of what is begotten, or to destroy the fœtus in any other way,[1] for she will be an infanticide who thus destroys life and diminishes the human race. If any one, therefore, commits adultery or seduction, he cannot be clean. Why, even after the regular connection of man and wife, the law enjoins that they shall both wash themselves. For there is a defilement contracted thereby both of soul and body, as if they had travelled into another country. For the soul suffers from its union with the body,[2] and is only freed therefrom again by death. On this account the law requires purification in all such cases.

§ 26. Moreover the law does not permit us to feast at the births of our children, and so make excuses for drinking to excess, but it ordains that the very beginning of life should be sober. It also commands us to bring our children up in learning, and to make them conversant with the laws, and acquainted with the acts of their forefathers, that they may imitate them, and being nourished up in them may neither transgress them, nor have any excuse for ignorance of them.

§ 27. Our law also provides for the decent burial of the dead, but without any extravagant expense at their funerals, and without the erection of any handsome monuments for them, and orders that the nearest relations should perform their obsequies. It also ordains that all who pass by when any one is buried should accompany the funeral, and join in the lamentation. It also orders that the house and its inhabitants should be purified after the funeral is over, that every one may thence learn to be as far as pos-

[1] I follow Müller's reading here. [2] I read *σώματι*.

sible from thinking himself pure, if he has been guilty of murder.

§ 28. The law also ordains, that parents should be honoured next after God himself, and orders the son who does not requite them for the benefits he has received from them, but comes short on any occasion, to be handed over to justice and stoned. It also says that young men should pay due respect to every elder, since God is the eldest of all beings. It does not give leave to conceal any thing from our friends, for that is not friendship which will not trust them in all things. It also forbids the revelation of their secrets, if subsequent enmity arise between them. If any judge take bribes, his punishment is death. He that neglects one that begs for aid, when he is able to relieve him, is liable to be called to account. What one has not intrusted to another, cannot be required back again. No one is to touch another's goods. He that lends money must not receive interest. These, and many more of the like sort, are the rules that unite us in the bonds of society with one another.

§ 29. It will also be worth our while to see what equity our legislator would have us exercise in our intercourse with strangers. For it will then appear that he made the best provision he possibly could, that we should neither infringe our own polity, nor show a grudging spirit to those who would cultivate a friendship with us. Thus our legislator receives in a friendly manner all those who wish to come and live under our laws, esteeming relationship to lie not only in race but also in similarity of life and manners. But he does not allow those who come to us only to sojourn for a time to be admitted into communion with us.

§ 30. There are, however, various things which our legislator ordered us as obligatory on us to impart to all men; as to give fire, water, and food, to such as require them, and to show them the way, and not to let any one lie unburied. He also would have us treat those accounted [1] our enemies with moderation. For he does not allow us to set their country on fire, nor does he permit us to cut down their fruit trees; he also forbids us to strip those that have

[1] Reading κριθέντας with Bekker.

been slain in war. He has also provided for such as are taken captive, that they may not be ill-treated, and especially the captive women. Indeed, he has taught us gentleness and humanity so effectually, that he has not neglected the care of brute beasts, permitting no other than the regular use of them, and forbidding any other. And if any of them flee to our houses as suppliants, we are forbidden to slay them. Nor may we kill the dams with their young ones; and we are obliged, even in an enemy's country, to spare and not kill those animals that labour for mankind. Thus has our lawgiver contrived to teach us merciful conduct every way, by using us to such laws as instruct us therein: while at the same time he has ordained, that such as break these laws should be punished without excuse.

§ 31. Now most offences with us are capital, as if any one is guilty of adultery, if any forces a virgin, if any one is so impudent as to attempt to commit sodomy with a male, or if the person solicited submits to be so used. The law is also equally inexorable for slaves. And if any one cheats another in measures or weights, or makes a knavish bargain and sale to cheat another, or if any one steal what belongs to another, and takes what he never deposited, all these have punishments allotted them, and that not such as are met with among other nations, but more severe ones. And as to misbehaviour to parents, or impiety to God, for the very intention the offender is put to death immediately. For those, on the other hand, who act according to the laws the reward is not silver nor gold, nor again a crown of wild olive or parsley, nor any such public mark of commendation; but each one, having his own conscience bearing him witness, believes (on the word of the legislator, confirmed by the sure testimony of God) that to those that observe these laws, even though they should be obliged to die willingly for them, God has granted that they shall come into being again, and after their vicissitudes have a better life than they had before. I should hesitate to write thus at this time, were it not well known to all from their actions, that many of our people have frequently bravely resolved to endure any sufferings, rather than speak one word against our law.

§ 32. Indeed, had our nation not happened to be known to all men, and had our voluntary submission to our laws not been open and manifest, but somebody read these laws to the Greeks, either pretending to have written them himself, or asserting that he had met with men outside the limits of the known world who had such sublime notions of God, and had continued many a century in the steady observance of such laws as ours, I cannot but suppose that all men would admire our nation because of the frequent changes they had themselves been subject to. For those who have attempted to write something of the same kind as a polity and code of laws, are accused of composing monstrous things, and are said to have undertaken an impossible task. I will say nothing here of those other philosophers who have undertaken any thing of this kind in their writings. But Plato, who is admired by the Greeks as remarkable for his lofty life and force of language, and who in powers of persuasion excelled all other philosophers, continues to be little better than laughed at and publicly ridiculed as on the stage by those that pretend to sagacity in political affairs: although he who shall diligently peruse his writings, will find them mild and pretty near to the customs of the generality of mankind. And Plato himself confesses that it is not safe to publish the true notion concerning God among the ignorant multitude. Yet some men look upon Plato's discourses as no better than certain idle words tricked out with great artifice. However, they admire Lycurgus most of all legislators, and all men celebrate Sparta for having continued in the observance of his laws for a very long time. So let it be admitted a proof of virtue to obey the laws. But then let such as admire this in the Lacedæmonians, compare the duration of their polity with the more than two thousand years that our polity has lasted, and let them further consider that, though the Lacedæmonians seemed to observe their laws strictly, while they enjoyed their liberty, yet, when they underwent a change of fortune, they almost forgot all those laws; while we, though we have had ten thousand reverses, owing to the frequent changes of rulers in Asia, have never abandoned our laws in the most pressing distresses we have been in, nor neglected them either from sloth or

luxury; yet, if any one will consider the matter, the difficulties and labours laid upon us have been far greater than what seem to have been borne by the fortitude of the Lacedæmonians. For they neither cultivated their land, nor exercised any trades, but lived in their own city, free from all labour, in the enjoyment of plenty, and using such exercises as might improve their bodies, while they made use of other men to minister to them in all the necessaries of life, and had their food prepared for them by them; enduring all toils and hardships merely for this one[1] noble and humane end, that they might be able to conquer all those against whom they made war! I need not add that they did not *always* succeed in this; for not only a few individuals, but multitudes of them have frequently *en masse* neglected the precepts of their law, and surrendered with their arms to their enemies.

§ 33. Now, as for ourselves, I venture to say, that no one can tell of so many, nay, of more than one or two, that have abandoned our laws, or feared death, I do not mean that easiest of deaths which happens in battles, but that which comes with bodily tortures, and seems to be the hardest death of all. Indeed I think those that have conquered us have put us to such deaths, not from their hatred to us when they had got us in their power, but rather from their desire to see a wonderful sight, namely, that there are men in the world, who believe the only evil is being compelled to do or to speak any thing contrary to their laws! Nor ought men to wonder at us, if we are more courageous in dying for our laws than all other men are. For other men do not easily submit to what seem the easiest of our practices, I mean such things as working with our hands, and simple diet, and being contented to eat and drink and lie with our wives by rule, as also in respect to luxury, and again in the constant observance of our days of rest. For those that can use their swords in war, and can put their enemies to flight when they attack them, cannot bear to submit to rules about their mode of living; whereas our being accustomed willingly to submit to laws in these cases makes us readier to show our fortitude upon other occasions also.

[1] Reading ἐφ' ἓν. Of course the sentence is ironical.

§ 34. Yet the Lysimachuses and the Molos, and some other such writers, reprobate sophists, and deceivers of young men, abuse us as the vilest of mankind. Now I had no mind to make an inquiry into the laws of other nations. For the custom of our country is to keep our own laws, and not to bring accusations against the laws of others; and indeed our legislator has expressly forbidden us to jeer or rail at those that are esteemed gods by other people,[1] out of respect to the very name of God. But as our antagonists think to run us down by a comparison of their religion and ours, it is not possible to keep silence, especially as what I shall say to confute these men will not be now first said, but has been already said by many of the highest reputation. For who among those that have been admired among the Greeks for wisdom has not greatly censured not only the most famous poets, but also the most esteemed legislators, for spreading originally among the masses such notions concerning the gods as that they may be allowed to be as numerous as they themselves have a mind to declare, and that they are begotten by one another, and that in all kinds of ways imaginable. They also classify them in their places and ways of living, as one would classify various kinds of animals, placing some under the earth,[2] and some in the sea,[3] and they represent the ancientest of them all as bound in Tartarus;[4] whereas in the case of those gods to whom they have allotted heaven, they have set over them one, who in name is their father, but in his actions a tyrant and despot;[5] so that his wife, and brother, and daughter (which daughter[6] he brought forth from his own head), made a conspiracy against him to seize upon him and confine him, as he had himself seized upon and confined his own father.[7]

§ 35. Justly do the wisest men think such notions as these deserving of severe rebukes, and also laugh at the idea that we ought to believe some of the gods to be beard-

[1] Compare Antiq. iv. 8. § 10.—W.
[2] As Pluto and Persephone.
[3] As Poseidon, Amphitrite, the Nereids, and Proteus.
[4] As Cronos and the Titans.
[5] Zeus is referred to.
[6] Athene.
[7] Cronos.

less and striplings, and others of them to be old and bearded,[1] and that some are set to trades, as one god is a smith,[2] and one goddess a weaver,[3] and that another god is a warrior and fights with men,[4] and that others of them are harpers,[5] or delight in archery;[6] and also that mutual strife arises among them, and that they quarrel about mankind, till they not only lay hands upon one another, but are also wounded by men and lament and wail.[7] But what is grossest of all are those unbridled lusts and amours ascribed to almost all of them. Indeed, how can it be other than most absurd to ascribe all this to gods and goddesses? Then the most noble and chief of all the gods, and himself also their father,[8] neglects those goddesses[9] whom he has seduced and got with child, and suffers them to be put in prison or exposed to the sea.[10] He is also so mastered by fate, that he cannot save his own offspring, nor can he bear their deaths without shedding tears. These are fine things indeed, as are the rest that follow! Adultery truly was so shamelessly looked on in heaven by the gods, that some of them confessed they envied those who were taken in the very act! And why should they not do so, when the eldest of them and their king could not in the violence of his lust wait for connection with his wife till they could get into their bedchamber?[11] And some of the gods are fabled to have been servants to men, sometimes as builders for pay,[12] and sometimes as shepherds,[13] while others, like malefactors, are bound in a prison of brass.[14] Now what sensible person would not be provoked at such stories, to rebuke those that made them up, and to condemn the great silliness of those that believe them? Nay, others have personified as gods terror and fear, and

[1] Müller compares "Jovem semper barbatum, Apollinem semper imberbem. Cic. Nat. Deor. i. 30, 83. Cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 3, 249."
[2] Hephæstus. [3] Athene. [4] Ares.
[5] As Apollo. [6] As Apollo and Artemis.
[7] As Aphrodite. See Hom. Iliad, v. 335-380.
[8] Zeus, who is frequently called the father of gods and men, as Homer, Iliad, i. 544.
[9] As Leto, Semele, Io, Danäe. [10] As Danäe.
[11] An allusion to Homer, Iliad, xiv. 292-353.
[12] As Poseidon and Apollo. [13] As Apollo.
[14] As Cronos and the Titans.

even madness and fraud, and other of the vilest passions. And they have persuaded cities to offer sacrifices to the better sort of these gods. Thus they have been absolutely forced to esteem some gods as the givers of good things, and to call others averters of evil. And these last they endeavour to move, as they would the vilest of men, by gifts and presents, expecting to receive some great mischief from them, unless they bribe them as it were by such offerings.

§ 36. What then is the cause of such irregularity and scandal as to the Deity? I suppose it to be derived from the imperfect knowledge their legislators had from the first of the true nature of God, and because they did not explain to the people even so much as they themselves comprehended of it, nor did they frame the rest of their polity in accordance with it, but omitted it as a thing of very little consequence, and not only gave leave to the poets to introduce what gods they pleased, subject to all sorts of passions, but also allowed the orators to enroll by plebiscite such foreign gods as they thought proper. The painters also and statuaries of Greece enjoyed great power in this respect, as each of them could devise the similitude of a god, the one forming it out of clay, and the other by painting a picture; but the most admired sculptors used ivory and gold as the constant materials for their new statues. Moreover, the gods, who first flourished in the honours done them, are now grown old, and certain other new gods are introduced and worshipped. As for the temples, some of them are desolate, and others are built anew, according to the pleasure of individual men; whereas they ought on the contrary to have preserved their opinion about God and the honour due to him without change.[1]

§ 37. Now Apollonius Molo belonged to the category of foolish and vain men. However, nothing that I have said was unknown to those who were real philosophers among the Greeks, nor were they ignorant of the frigid pretensions of allegories. And so they justly despised them, and agreed with us in true and becoming notions of God. From this standpoint Plato would not admit into his republic any one of the other poets, and dismisses even Homer him-

[1] I have followed Müller's text in the latter part of this section.

self with panegyric, after placing a garland on his head and pouring ointment upon him, that he should not destroy right notions about God with his fables. Plato also especially imitated our legislator in that he enjoined his citizens to pay to nothing more attention than to this, that every one of them should learn their laws accurately; as also that they should not have foreigners mixing with their own people at random, but that the republic should be pure, and consist only of such as obeyed the laws. Apollonius Molo did no way consider this, when he accused us of not admitting such as have their own preconceptions about God, and having no fellowship with those who choose to observe a different way of living to ourselves. For this method is not peculiar to us, but common to all men, not to Greeks only, but also to such as are of the greatest reputation among the Greeks. Why, the Lacedæmonians continually expelled foreigners, and would not suffer their own citizens to travel abroad, suspecting that both these things would tend to the detriment of their own laws. And perhaps there may be some reason to blame the rigid severity of the Lacedæmonians, for they gave no one the privilege of citizenship or indeed leave to live among them; whereas we, though we do not think fit to imitate the ways of others, yet willingly admit those that desire to share ours. And I think I may reckon this a proof both of our humanity and magnanimity also.

§ 38. But I shall say no more about the Lacedæmonians. And as to the Athenians, who glory in having made their city common to all men, Apollonius did not know what their behaviour was either, for they punished without mercy those who did but speak one word about the gods contrary to their laws. For on what other account was it that Socrates was put to death? For certainly he neither betrayed their city to its enemies, nor was he guilty of any sacrilege with regard to any of their temples; but it was because he swore by novel oaths, and affirmed either in earnest, or, as some say, only in jest, that a demon[1] used to intimate to him [what he should or should not do,] that he was condemned to die by drinking hemlock;

[1] Or "genius." See Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, i. 1, § 2. See also Plutarch's Essay, *De genio Socratis*.

and his accuser[1] also complained that he corrupted the young men, because he induced them to despise the policy and laws of their city. Such was the punishment of Socrates, though a citizen of Athens. And Anaxagoras of Clazomenæ[2] was within a few votes of being condemned to death, because he said the sun, which the Athenians thought a god, was a red-hot mass of fire. They also made public proclamation, that they would give a talent to any one who would kill Diagoras of Melos,[3] because he was said to have laughed at their mysteries. Protagoras also, who was thought to have written something about the gods that was not admitted by the Athenians, would have been arrested and put to death, if he had not fled quickly. Nor need we at all wonder that they thus treated such considerable men, seeing that they did not even spare women. For indeed they slew a certain priestess, because she was accused by somebody of initiating people into the worship of strange gods, for it was forbidden to do so by one of their laws, and capital punishment was decreed to such as introduced a strange god. But it is manifest that those who made such a law did not believe the gods of other nations to be really gods, else they would not have grudged themselves the advantage of more gods than they already had. Such was the happy administration of the affairs of the Athenians! The Scythians also take a pleasure in killing men, and differ little from brute beasts, yet they think it reasonable to have their institutions observed; and they put to death Anacharsis,[4] a person greatly admired for his wisdom by the Greeks, because on his return home to them he appeared full of Greek customs. One may also find many to have been punished among the Persians on the very same account. But it is plain that Apollonius was greatly pleased with the laws of the Persians, and admired them, doubtless because the Greeks enjoyed the advantage of their courage and similar opinions about the gods! This similarity of opinion in religious matters was exhibited in their burning temples, and their courage in coming and almost entirely

[1] Meletus.
[2] *Kelisman*, on the south side of the bay of Smyrna.
[3] The island of *Milo*, one of the Cyclades.
[4] See Herodotus, iv. 76, 77.

enslaving the Greeks. And Apollonius imitated all the Persian institutions, forcing other men's wives, and castrating their sons. Now with us it is a capital crime, if any one thus ill-treats even a brute beast: and neither the fear of our conquerors, nor the desire of imitating what other nations hold in esteem, has been able to draw us away from our own laws. Nor have we exercised our courage in undertaking wars to increase our wealth, but only to continue in the observance of our laws: for though we bear other losses with patience, yet when any persons would compel us to violate our laws, we then choose to go to war, even against tremendous odds, and bear the greatest calamities to the last with much fortitude. And why indeed should we desire to imitate the laws of other nations, when we see that they are not even observed by their own legislators? For why should not the Lacedæmonians condemn that polity which suffers them not to associate with others, as also their contempt of matrimony? And why should not the people of Elis [1] and the Thebans abolish that unnatural and unrestrained lust of sodomy so common among them? [2] For they do not admit their objection to what they of old thought to be very excellent and very convenient to do, unless they entirely avoid all such practices in their actions, nay, they corrupt their laws, which had once such a power among the Greeks, that they ascribed these sodomitical practices to the gods themselves,[3] and represented in the same way that the gods married their own sisters,[4] contriving this apology for their own strange and unnatural lusts.[5]

§ 39. I omit now to speak concerning punishments, and how many ways of compounding for them most legislators of old gave evil-doers, as for adulteries fines in money, and for seducing virgins to marry them, as also how many loopholes they supply to deny the facts, if any one attempts to inquire into them. For amongst most nations it is quite a studied art, how men may transgress their laws; but it is

[1] On the west coast of Peloponnesus.
[2] See Cicero, *Rep.* iv. 4; Plutarch, *On Education*, § xv.; Xenophon's *Symposium*, viii. 33, 34.
[3] As in the famous case of Ganymede.
[4] As Zeus and Hera. Homer, Iliad, xvi. 432.
[5] Surely we must read *αὐτοῖς*, not *αὐταῖς*.

not so amongst us. For though we should be deprived of our wealth and cities and any other advantages we have, our law continues immortal: nor can any Jew go so far from his own country, nor be so afraid of a harsh despot, as not to fear the law more than him. If, then, this is the disposition we are in with regard to our laws because of the excellency of them, let our enemies make this concession that our laws are most admirable; but if they still imagine, though we so firmly adhere to them, that they are bad laws notwithstanding, what penalties then do they not deserve to undergo, who do not observe their own laws, which they esteem superior to ours? And since length of time is esteemed to be the truest touchstone in all cases, I would make that a witness of the excellence of our legislator, and of the account delivered to us by him concerning God. For since immense time has intervened, if any one will but compare his period with the period of other legislators, he will find our legislator to have been the most ancient of all.

§ 40. I have already fully shown our laws, and they have always inspired imitation and still more admiration in all other men.[1] For the earliest Greek philosophers, though to all appearance they observed the laws of their own countries, yet in their actions and philosophical notions followed our legislator, instructing men to live sparingly, and to have friendly communications with one another. Moreover, multitudes have had a great inclination now for a long time to follow our religious observances; nor is there any city of the Greeks, nor any barbarian city, nor any nation, where our custom of resting on the seventh day has not reached, and by whom our fasts, and burning of lamps, and many of our prohibitions as to food, are not observed. They also endeavour to imitate our mutual concord with one another, and the charitable distribution of our goods, and our diligence in our trades, and our fortitude in undergoing the distresses we are exposed to on account of our laws. And what is most wonderful, our law has no bait of pleasure to allure men to it, but only gains ground on its own merits; and as God himself pervades all the world, so

[1] I suggest ἀνθρώποις μίμησιν ἀεί, καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ζῆλον ἐμπεποιήκασι. Itaque verti.

has our law passed through all the world also. If any one will but reflect on his own country and family, he will not discredit what I say. It is therefore but just either to condemn all mankind of voluntary depravity, for their desire to follow laws foreign to them and evil in themselves, rather than following laws of their own that are of a better character, or else our accusers must leave off their spite against us. For we are not guilty of any grudging behaviour to them in honouring our own legislator, and in believing what he has prophetically taught us about God. For even if we were unable ourselves to understand the excellence of all our laws, yet would the number of those who desire to imitate them induce us to plume ourselves greatly upon them.

§ 41. But I have given an accurate account of our laws and polity in my work on the Antiquities; and have only mentioned them so far now as was necessary to my present purpose, neither proposing to myself to blame the laws of other nations, nor to make an encomium upon our own, but only to confute those who have written unjustly about us, and in shameless antagonism to the truth. And now I think I have sufficiently done what I proposed in writing these two books.[1] For whereas our accusers have said that our nation are a people of very late origin, I have proved that they are exceedingly ancient; for I have produced as witnesses many ancient writers, who have mentioned us in their books, while they affirmed no writer had done so. Moreover, they said that our ancestors were Egyptians, while I have proved that we came from another country into Egypt. They also told lies of us, as if we were expelled thence on account of disease in our bodies, whereas it has appeared on the contrary that we returned to our own country by our own choice, and with sound and strong bodies. They reproached our legislator again as a very paltry fellow: whereas God in old time bore witness to his virtuous conduct, and since Him time itself has been found to have borne witness to the same.

§ 42. As to our laws themselves, more words are unnecessary. For they can be seen for themselves, and evi-

[1] Namely, against Apion.

dently do not teach impiety, but the truest piety in the world, not calling men to misanthropy, but encouraging people to share what they have with one another freely; being enemies to injustice, and eager for righteousness, and anxious to banish idleness and expensive living, and teaching men to be content with what they have, and to be laborious in their callings; and forbidding men to make war from a desire of greed, and making men bold in defending the laws; and inexorable in punishing malefactors; and admitting no sophistry of words, but ever establishing themselves by actions, which we ever adduce as surer proofs than what is written only. And so I make bold to say, that we are become the teachers of other men in the greatest number of things, and those the most excellent. For what is more excellent than inviolable piety? what is more just than obedience to the laws? and what is more advantageous than mutual love and concord, and neither to be divided by calamities, nor to become injurious and seditious in prosperity, but to despise death when we are in war, and to apply ourselves in peace to trade and agriculture, while we are persuaded that God surveys and directs every thing everywhere. If these precepts had either been written before by others, or more exactly observed, we should have owed them thanks as their disciples, but if it is plain that we have made more use of them than any other men, and if we have proved that the original invention of them is our own, let the Apions and Molos, and all others who delight in lies and abuse, stand confuted. And let this and the previous book [1] be dedicated to you, Epaphroditus, who are so great a lover of truth, and for your sake to those who like you wish to know about our nation.[2]

[1] Against Apion.

[2] I take this opportunity of stating that I have found the edition of Josephus "Against Apion" of J. G. Müller, Basel, 1877, very useful indeed. Had he but extended his labours to all Josephus! His Notes are most thorough and complete.

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